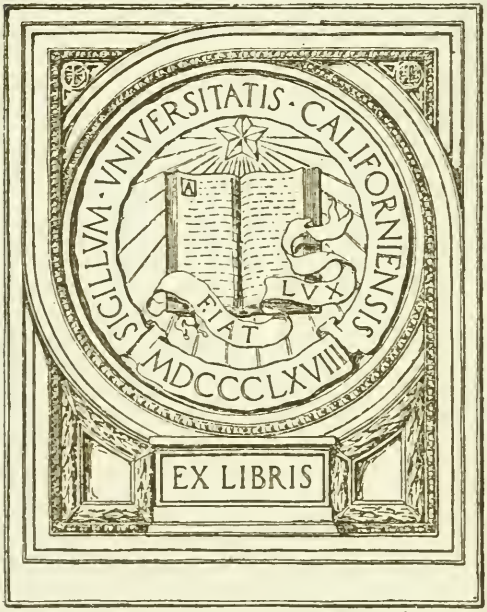
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DANTE STUDIES

PAGET TOYNBEE

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

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DANTE STUDIES

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PREFACE

THE articles and notes collected in this volume are reprinted (for the most part with additions and corrections) from various English, American, French, and Italian publications, as a tribute, on the occasion of the world-wide celebration in the present year of the sixth centenary of the death of Dante (September 14, 1321), on the part of one who has for many years been engaged in following, in the words of the motto on the title-page, 'dietro alle poste delle care piante' of 'l'altissimo Poeta'.

Eight of these articles were originally published in the *Modern Language Review*; three in the *Athenaeum*; two in *Literature*; one in the *Quarterly Review*; one in *The Times*; one in the *Annual Reports of the Cambridge* (*U.S.A.*) *Dante Society* (Boston); eight in the *Bulletin Italien* (Bordeaux); one in *Romania* (Paris); one in *Études Italiennes* (Paris); two in the *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* (Turin); one in the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana* (Florence); and one in the volume (*Da Dante al Leopardi*) published in honour of Professor Michele Scherillo (Milan, 1904).

It is hoped that the articles, half of which are now for the first time published in England, will be found acceptable to students in their present form, as a continuation of the series published some years ago in my volume of *Dante Studies and Researches*. To facilitate reference a full general index is provided, as well as a special index of authors and

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chronological tables as adjuncts to the article on English translations from Dante.

It remains for me to express my acknowledgements to the several editors and publishers for permission to reprint such of the articles as were copyright; to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for undertaking the publication of the volume; and to the Press readers for their vigilance in detecting errors which had been overlooked by me in the correction of the proofs.

PAGET TOYNBEE.

FIVEWAYS, BURNHAM, BUCKS.
April, 1921.

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DANTE AND THE 'CURSUS'

A NEW ARGUMENT IN FAVOUR OF THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE *QUAESTIO DE AQUA ET TERRA*.[1]

As is well known to all who have followed the controversy concerning the authenticity of the *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra*, those who deny Dante's authorship of the treatise maintain that it is a forgery of the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century, most probably by Moncetti, the first editor, who published the work at Venice in 1508.[2] The arguments in favour of the genuineness of the treatise, which had previously been upheld in a paper read (in 1895) before the Oxford Dante Society by Dr. C. L. Shadwell, have been stated with great force and ability by Dr. Moore in his essay on the *Quaestio* in the second series of his *Studies in Dante*,[3] in which he examined in detail the external and internal evidence *pro* and *con*, with the result that the burden of proof was effectually shifted on to the shoulders of the unbelievers. One line of inquiry, however, did not suggest itself to Dr. Moore, nor has it, so far as I am aware, been followed by any of those who have hitherto concerned themselves with the question of the authenticity of the *Quaestio*.[4] It is with this line of inquiry that I propose to deal in the present article.

[1] Reprinted from *Modern Language Review* (October 1918), xiii. 420-30.

[2] See especially A. Luzio e R. Renier, *Il probabile falsificatore della Quaestio de Aqua et Terra*, in *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* (1892), vol xx, pp. 125-50; and also Vincenzo Biagi, *La Quaestio de Aqua et Terra di Dante Alighieri* (Modena, 1907), pp. 17 ff.

[3] *The Genuineness of the Quaestio de Aqua et Terra*, pp. 303-56.

[4] Since this paper (which was read before the Oxford Dante Society in May 1917) was written, a note on *La Quaestio de Aqua et Terra e il Cursus*, by E. G. Parodi, has been published in the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana* (N.S. xxiv. 168-9); and another, by F. Di Capua, in *Appunti sul 'Cursus' . . . nelle Opere Latine di Dante Alighieri* (1919), pp. 7-8.

Having had occasion lately to study the laws of the mediaeval *cursus* in connexion with the revision of the text of Dante's *Epistolae*, it occurred to me to apply the *cursus* test to Dante's other Latin works, the *De Monarchia* and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, and finally to the *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra*. Before submitting the results of my application of the test, it will be convenient if I give a very brief account of the history and nature of the mediaeval *cursus*.[1]

The *cursus* is the name given to the harmonious arrangement, according to prescribed laws, of the words at the end of the clause, or sentence in prose composition—'artificiosa dictionum structura', as it is defined by a thirteenth-century writer on the subject.[2] The mediaeval *cursus* may be described as the lineal descendant of the classical *cursus*, with the substitution of accent for quantity; that is to say, mediaeval Latin prose, when written in accordance with the laws of the *cursus*, was accentual or rhythmical, instead of being metrical, like the 'prosa numerosa' of Cicero. During the period of transition (usually reckoned to have extended from the latter half of the fourth century to the beginning of the seventh), before the stress of the accent had altogether obliterated the recognition of quantity, there prevailed a style which was characterized by a mixture of the two—*cursus mixtus*, as it has been called—some of the clausulae being metrical, while others follow the accent without regard to the quantity.[3] At the end of this period the employment of rhythmical prose seems to have fallen into abeyance.[4]

[1] For this account I am indebted for the most part to the paper on *The Cursus in Mediaeval and Vulgar Latin* by Professor A. C. Clark (Oxford, 1910); to the second edition of *Il Cursus nella Storia Letteraria e nella Liturgia* of Angelo De Santi (Rome, 1903); and to chapter iv of R. L. Poole's *Lectures on the History of the Papal Chancery* (Cambridge, 1915).

[2] Buoncompagno di Firenze—the passage is quoted by Thurot in his *Histoire des Doctrines grammaticales au Moyen Âge* (in *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits*, xxii. ii. 480): 'Appositio que dicitur esse artificiosa dictionum structura, ideo a quibusdam cursus vocatur, quia, cum artificialiter dictiones locantur, currere sonitu delectabili per aures videntur cum beneplacito auditorum.'

[3] See Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 10–13.

[4] See Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13, where the following statement of the Benedictines of Solesmes is quoted: 'A partir de Saint Grégoire le Grand le rythme semble s'exiler pour quatre siècles de la prose littéraire.' Cf. De Santi, *op. cit.*,

A revival took place in the eleventh century, when the rhythmical *cursus* was adopted by the Roman Curia and was the subject of elaborate rules.[1] 'The prose of this period', writes Professor Clark, 'was largely epistolary'; in which term are included 'not merely private letters, but elaborate and courtly compositions sent to ecclesiastical dignitaries, and diplomatic documents proceeding from the Papal Chancery. . . . The usual term for such compositions was *dictamen*,[2] writers were called *dictatores*,[3] their art was known as *ars dictatoria*, and handbooks giving the rules were styled *summa dictaminis*.'[4]

The employment of the *cursus* soon spread beyond the confines of the Papal Chancery, and became general, not only in epistolary correspondence, but n every form of Latin prose composition with any pretension to style and elegance[5]—its

p. 12: 'Tutti gli autori sono concordi nell' asserire che dal secolo VII in poi la prosa metrica va disparendo. A poco a poco la quantità soggiace all' impero dell' accento e più non conta, finchè si perde ogni traccia di un *cursus* comechessia cadenzato.'.

[1] Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[2] Dante applies this term to a poetical composition in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (ii. 12, l. 52).

[3] Dante twice uses the word in this sense, viz. in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (ii. 6, l. 46), and in the letter to Can Grande (*Epist.* x, l. 207).

[4] Clarke, *op. cit.*, pp. 13-14.

[5] This is brought out in an interesting way by Dante in the sixth chapter of the second book of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, in which he enumerates four 'degrees of construction', with instances: 'Sunt etenim gradus constructionum quamplures; videlicet insipidus, qui est rudium, ut *Petrus amat multum dominam Bertam*. Est pure sapidus, qui est rigidorum scholarium vel magistrorum, ut *Piget me cunctis pietate maiore quicumque in exilio tabescentes, patriam tantum somniando revisunt*. Est et sapidus et venustus, qui est quorundam superficie tenus rhetoricam haurientium, ut *Laudabilis discretio marchionis Estensis et sua magnificentia praeparata cunctis illum facit esse dilectum*. Est et sapidus et venustus, etiam et excelsus, qui est dictatorum illustrium, ut *Electa maxima parte florum de sinu tuo, Florentia, nequicquam Trinacriam Totila secundus adivit*' (ll. 32-48). In the three last examples, which are those of a cultivated style, the normal rules of the *cursus* are observed, while in the first, 'qui est rudium', they are ignored. Thus in the second we have '(pie)táte maióre' (*planus*), '(in ex)ílio tàbescéntes' (*velox*), '(somni)ándo revisunt' (*planus*); in the third, '(marchi)ónis Esténsis' (*planus*), '(magnifi)céntia praèparáta' (*velox*). 'ésse diléctum' (*planus*); in the last, 'tuo, Floréntia' (*tardus*), '(ne)quícquam Trinácriam' (*tardus*), '(se)cúndus adívit' (*planus*). It may be noted that the *cursus* is also observed in the example which Dante gives, earlier in this same

use in fact became the distinguishing mark of a cultivated writer—and it continued to flourish until 'with the dawn of the Renaissance the knowledge of quantity revived, and the *cursus* was abandoned as barbarous[1] . . . and the art of *numerosa compositio* was lost, only to be recovered gradually during the last few years.'[2]

chapter, in the passage in which he defines the 'constructio': 'Est enim sciendum, quod constructionem vocamus regulatam compaginem dictionum, ut *Aristoteles philosophatus est tempore Alexandri'* (ll. 11–14), 'témpore Àlexándri' constituting a *velox*.

[1] Thus Coluccio Salutati, in a letter (quoted by Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 21) written in 1403 to Jacopo da Teramo, Bishop of Florence, in reply to one from the Bishop in which the *cursus* was avoided, expresses himself as follows: 'Cum omnia placeant, super omnia michi gratum est, quod more fratrum ille sermo rythmica lubricatione non ludit. Non est ibi syllabarum equalitas, que sine dinumeratione fieri non solet; non sunt ibi clausule, que similiter desinant aut cadant, quod a Cicerone nostro non aliter reprehenditur quam puerile quiddam,* quod minime deceat rebus seriis vel ab hominibus qui graves sint adhiberi. Benedictus Deus, quod sermonem unum vidimus hoc fermento non contaminatum et qui legi possit sine concentu et effeminata consonantie cantilena!' (ed. Novati, iii. 631–2). This was not the only occasion on which Coluccio manifested his contempt for the *cursus*. Writing in 1369 to Marino Ceccoli da Perugia, who also rejected the *cursus*, he says: 'Vidi, inquam, dictamen stilumque tuum, in quo non modernorum lubricatione iocaris, non religiosorum rythmica sonoritate orationem instruis, sed solido illo prisco more dicendi contentus, nil fucatum et maiore quam deceat apparatu comptum prefers' (ed. Novati, i. 77). To Benvenuto da Imola, the commentator on Dante, he writes in 1383: 'Quid recurris ad illos, qui ad mensuram et, quod apud Tullium nostrum puerile est, ex pari ferme numero sillabarum orationis membra distinguunt?' (ed. Novati, ii. 78). And to Frà Giovanni Dominici in 1406: '[Religiosi] rethoricam nichil aliud esse putant quam splendidorum vocabulorum congeriem, clausulis lubricantibus trisyllaboque cursu vel quadrisyllabo terminatis; quod quidem minimum est ad rethoricam tamen spectans, et quo Cicero, Sallustius, Livius et alii, qui cunctis prestantiores in eloquentia reputantur, sic usi sunt et raro, quod videantur et cursus et illa festivitas eos secuti non ab eis de industria vestigati' (ed. Novati, iv. 234).

[2] See N. Valois, *Étude sur le Rythme des Bulles Pontificales*, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, xlii. 267; Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 21; and Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 76. Cf. De Santi, *op. cit.*, p. 33: 'Il massimo fiore del *cursus* letterario medievale si riscontra tra il pontificato d' Innocenzo III (1198–1216) e quello di Nicolò IV (1288–1292). Le regole rimangono invariate e nelle lettere pontificie non vi ha clausola, o intermedia o finale, che non sia regolata col *cursus*. Ma sotto Nicolò IV comincia la decadenza. I notarii apostolici divengono di mano in mano più negligenti. . . . Nel secolo xiv il *cursus* scompare del tutto nelle nuove Bolle e solo sopravvive nelle formole copiate dagli Atti più antichi, ma senza

* The reference here, and in the letter to Benvenuto da Imola quoted below, is to *Ad Herennium* iv. 20.

In the mediaeval *cursus*, which, it must be borne in mind, depends entirely upon accent, not quantity, and in which there is no elision, the hiatus being tolerated, three principal types of clausula are recognized, which are known respectively as *planus*, *tardus*, and *velox*.

Cursus Planus.

The *cursus planus* in its normal form (*pl*) consists of a paroxytone trisyllable (or its equivalent, a monosyllable and a paroxytone dissyllable) preceded by a paroxytone dissyllable or polysyllable, the caesura falling after the second syllable of the clausula; as, ésse | vidétur; víncla | perfrégit; lóngum | sermónem; dáre | non vúltis; (obe)díre | mandátis.

As in the classical *cursus* two short syllables might be substituted for a long syllable in the clausula,[1] so in the mediaeval *cursus* it was allowable to substitute two unaccented syllables for one in the same manner, a licence which gave rise to what may be termed alternative or secondary forms. Thus the normal form of the *planus* (ésse vidétur; lóngum sermónem) might be replaced by a secondary form (*pl*^{2}), such as, ésse | videátur; dóna | sentiámus; (perve)níre | mereámur; the caesura falling after the second syllable as in the normal form.[2]

Another variation of the normal *planus* was occasionally admitted, in which the whole clausula was composed of a single word (*pl*^{3}); such as, iúdicabátur; tránsgrediéntes.[3]

Yet another form, which by some is classed as a variety of *planus* (*pl*^{4}), and by others is placed in a separate category styled *cursus medius*,[4] consists of a paroxytone dissyllable

coscienza alcuna dello stile loro proprio. La rinascenza aveva fatto già rifiorire le teorie di Cicerone e di Quintiliano, ed i bravi latinisti del cinquecento non badarono più davvero alle regole del *cursus*, ma a scriver bene, secondo lo stile dell' Età dell' oro e a dare una movenza armonica al periodo che ritraesse del gusto dei migliori classici, a ciò aiutandosi specialmente del giudizio dell' orecchio formatosi sopra quelli.'

[1] Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

[2] This secondary form is by some classed as *cursus trispondaicus*; see De Santi, *op. cit.*, p. 25; Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19.

[3] See Parodi, in *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S. xix. 251 n.

[4] See De Santi, *op. cit.*, p. 26; and Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19.

preceded by a proparoxytone trisyllable (or its equivalents) or polysyllable, the caesura falling after the third syllable of the clausula; as, précibus | nóstris; út pius | páter; (domi)nábitur | míhi.[1]

Cursus Tardus.

The normal form of the *cursus tardus* (*t*) consists of a proparoxytone tetrasyllable (or its equivalents) preceded by a paroxytone dissyllable or polysyllable, the caesura falling after the second syllable of the clausula, as in the *planus*; as, ésse | vidébitis; víncla | perfrégerat; (ope)rári | iustítiam. The final tetrasyllable may be represented either by a paroxytone trisyllable followed by a monosyllable; as, nóbis | aggréssus est; (sub)íre | necésse est; or by a proparoxytone trisyllable preceded by a monosyllable; as, vérba | non cáperent; (murmu)rántes | in ínvicem.

By the substitution, as in the *planus*, of two unaccented syllables for one after the caesura, we get a secondary form of the *tardus* (t^2), of the type ésse | videámini; (vir)tútis | operátio.[2]

What by some is classed as a variety of the *cursus tardus* (t^3), and by others is placed in the category of the *cursus medius*,[3] has the caesura after the third syllable of the clausula, which thus consists of a proparoxytone trisyllable preceded by a proparoxytone trisyllable or polysyllable; as, iúgiter | póstulat; (per)cútitur | ímpius.

Cursus Velox.

The *cursus velox* in its normal form (*v*) consists of a paroxytone tetrasyllable (or its equivalents) preceded by a proparoxytone trisyllable or polysyllable, the caesura falling after the third syllable of the clausula; as, ómnia | vìdeántur; vínculum | frègerámus; flétibus | sùpplicántis; (su)súrrio | blàndiéntem.[4]

[1] See Parodi, *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xix. 251 n., 259.

[2] This secondary form of *tardus* is by some classed as *dispondeus dactylicus*; see De Santi, *op. cit.*, p. 26; Clark, *op. cit*, pp. 18, 19.

[3] See De Santi, *op. cit.*, p. 26; Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19.

[4] The grave accent indicates a minor stress, in conformity with the observation 'that long words cannot be pronounced without the help of minor accents' (see Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 10).

The final tetrasyllable may be represented either by a paroxytone trisyllable preceded by a monosyllable; as, cívitas | est Romána; (vic)tóriam | sunt adépti; or by two dissyllables; as, nésciens | atque nólens; (uten)sília | Dei súmus.

As in the case of the *planus* and *tardus*, by substituting two unaccented syllables for one after the caesura, we get a secondary form of *velox* (v^2), of the type flétibus | ìntemerátus; cállide | cònsiderántes.

A further variety of the *cursus velox* (v^3), which by some is designated *cursus octosyllabicus*,[1] has an additional syllable at the end, of the type flétibus | sùpplicántium; (amari)túdinem | poèniténtiae.

It may be noted in passing that the *cursus velox* (in its normal form) was by far the most popular of the three types of clausula in the mediaeval *cursus*, and was usually assigned the post of honour at the end of the period. De Santi quotes[2] an interesting dictum on this subject from one of the mediaeval text-books on *dictamen*, which, as he observes, enforces the point by example as well as by precept, the sentence ending with a sonorous *velox*: 'Cursus tamen velox maiorem ornatum efficit, et ideo a dictatoribus commúniter àcceptátur.'

For convenience of reference and comparison the three principal types of clausula in the mediaeval *cursus*, with their variations, as formulated above, are here tabulated with typical examples.

Cursus Planus.

(*a*) ´ ~ | ~ ´ ~ {ésse vidétur / lóngum sermónem} (*pl*).

(*b*) ´ ~ | ~ ~ ´ ~ {ésse videátur / dóna sentiámus} (pl^2).[3]

(*c*) ´ ~ ~ ´ ~ {iúdicabátur / tránsgrediéntes} (pl^3).

(*d*) ´ ~ ~ | ´ ~ {précibus nóstris / ímpius páter} (pl^4).[4]

[1] See De Santi, *op. cit.*, p. 26; Clark, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 19.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

[3] Designated by some *cursus trispondaicus* (see above, p. 5, n. 2).

[4] By some classed as a type of *cursus medius* (see above, pp. 5–6).

Cursus Tardus.

(*a*) ˊ ~ | ~ ˊ ~ ~ {ésse vidébitis / ráro iustítia} (*t*).

(*b*) ˊ ~ | ~ ~ ˊ ~ ~ {ésse videámini / fórtis operátio} (t^2).[1]

(*c*) ˊ ~ ~ | ˊ ~ ~ {iúgiter póstulat / cómmoda sítiens} (t^3).[2]

Cursus Velox.

(*a*) ˊ ~ ~ | ˋ ~ ˊ ~ {flétibus sùpplicántis / ómnia vìdeántur} (*v*).

(*b*) ˊ ~ ~ | ˋ ~ ~ ˊ ~ {flétibus ìntemerátus / cállide cònsiderántes} (v^2).

(*c*) ˊ ~ ~ | ˋ ~ ˊ ~ ~ {flétibus sùpplicántium / tímidae vìdeámini} (v^3).[3]

We may now consider the *cursus* in connexion with the *Quaestio*. By the end of the fifteenth century, or beginning of the sixteenth, the date at which the treatise is alleged to have been forged, as we have seen, the practice of the *cursus* had long been abandoned, and its very existence forgotten.[4]

In view of the consensus of opinion on the subject, this statement hardly calls for proof here, but if confirmation be needed it may be found in the fact that in the *Epistolarium, seu de arte conficiendi epistolas opus* of Giovanni Mario Filelfo (1426–80)—a sort of 'polite letter-writer', which had an immense vogue in the fifteenth century—the *cursus* is absolutely ignored [5]; as it is also in Moncetti's dedicatory letter

[1] Designated by some *cursus dispondeus dactylicus* (see above, p. 6, n. 2).

[2] By some classed as a type of *cursus medius* (see above, p. 6).

[3] Designated by some *cursus octosyllabicus* (see above, p. 7).

[4] See above, p. 4, and n. 2.

[5] A couple of extracts taken at haphazard from the *Epistolarium* will suffice to demonstrate this: '*Titulus* xxix. *Doctrinalis familiaris.* Quod me ames aequum est. Amaris enim ab me supra modum. Sed ne prolixitate verborum tempus teram, cum sententiarum potius opificem quam verborum sapientem esse decere doceat Augustinus, ad ea summatim respondebo quae postulasti. Perpetuitate utuntur vel observatores latinae linguae in iis quae ad philosophiam attinent, siquidem commodiore vocabulo ea sententia nequit exprimi. Ut enim ab aeterno formata aeternitas, sic a perpetuo perpetuitas . . .' '*Titulus* xi. *Commotiva ad pacem familiaris.* Eo fungar officio, quod Salvator nos docuit

to the Cardinal Hippolito da Este, which he prefixed to the original edition of the *Quaestio*.[1] If, therefore, it can be shown that the rules of the *cursus* are observed in the *Quaestio*, the presumption must be admitted to be strongly in favour of the conclusion that the treatise cannot be a forgery of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, when the *cursus* and its observance had passed into oblivion. It is of course not inconceivable that a preternaturally clever forger of that period may have rediscovered for himself the rules of the *cursus*, and have conformed to them accordingly for the purpose of adding verisimilitude to his falsification. But in that case we should have expected him in his editorial capacity to draw attention to the point, in order to ensure that his laborious introduction of this particular feature should not be thrown away on the public whom it was his object to deceive. Such a hypothesis, however, is in the circumstances hardly deserving of consideration, and it may be dismissed without hesitation. It is not without significance in this connexion that in some undoubted Dante forgeries of the fifteenth century which happen to have come down to us the *cursus* is not observed. These are the alleged beginnings of Dante's *De Monarchia* and *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, as well

inquiens : In quamcunque domum intraveritis dicite, Pax huic domui. Quamobrem et Romani templum constituere pacis, et apud Iuvenalem est : ut colitur pax atque fides. Quin etiam Plato, quod usurpavit Tullius, pacem atque concordiam duo dixit rerum publicarum fundamenta. Vos igitur, humanissimi principes, hortor ad pacem. Satis pugnatum est. Satis cruoris effusum. Satis admissum iniuriarum. . . .' Though, as is naturally to be expected in any piece of Latin prose composition, there are occasional clausulae here which correspond with those of the mediaeval *cursus*, it is obvious that these are purely accidental. The accidental occurrence of such clausulae may be observed even in the very passages in his letters in which Coluccio Salutati is condemning the *cursus* (see the extracts given above, p. 4, n. 1).

[1] The following are the opening sentences of Moncetti's letter : ' Bracteata Graecorum sententia fertur, Reverendissime Antistes, qua monemur, nihil dulcius quam omnia scire. Unde dictum est ab Homero Mantuano, omnium rerum saturitas est, praeter quam scire; deinde sententia memoratu digna a principe peripatheticorum dicitur, Omnes homines natura scire desiderant. Huius peripatheci (*sic*) praecepta emulatis. Ideo summo praeconio voceque nectarea usque ad sedes Ioviales es extollendus. Quoddam virtutis specimen ineffabile ex te manat, quia a tenella aetate bonis disciplinis moribusque polliticis es eruditus. Catoni Porcio, Hortensio es equiparandus, qui reipublicae Romanae fulgura micantia fuerunt. . . .'

as of sundry Latin letters, which were inserted in his *Vita Dantis* (written in or before 1467) by the same Filelfo whose *Epistolarium* has just been referred to. If Filelfo had been acquainted with the *cursus* and with the fact that it was habitually observed by the writers of Dante's day, he would hardly have failed to have himself observed it in his alleged extracts from Dante's works.[1] That he did not do so may be accepted as conclusive proof of his ignorance.

Before we proceed to the demonstration of the *cursus* test as applied to the *Quaestio*, it must be explained that we must not expect to find the *cursus* observed in the purely argumentative portions of the treatise, in which of necessity technical terms have to be introduced which do not easily lend themselves to the required manipulation; its observance must only be looked for in the more rhetorical and personal passages. This will be found to be the case also in Dante's *De Monarchia* and *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, in which the strict observance of the *cursus* is confined for the most part to the introductory chapters; as well as in the letter to Can Grande (*Epist.* x), the *cursus* being regularly observed in the address and first four sections, which constitute the epistolary portions proper,[2]

[1] The passage in the *Vita Dantis* containing these alleged extracts is as follows: 'Romano quidem stilo edidit opus, cui *Monarchiae* dedit nomen, cuius hoc est principium: *Magnitudo eius, qui sedens in throno cunctis dominatur, in coelo stans omnia videt, nusquam exclusus, nullibi est inclusus, ita dividit gratiae munera, ut mutos aliquando faciat loqui.* Edidit et opus *de Vulgari Eloquentia* hoc principio: *Ut Romana lingua in totum est orbem nobilitata terrarum, ita nostri cupiunt nobilitare suam; propterea que difficilius est hodie recte nostra quam perite latina quidquam dicere.* Edidit et epistolas innumerabiles; aliam cuius est hoc principium ad invictissimum Hunnorum regem: *Magna de te fama in omnes dissipata, rex dignissime, coegit me indignum exponere manum calamo, et ad tuam humanitatem accedere.* Aliam, cuius est initium rursus ad Bonifacium Pontificem Maximum: *Beatitudinis tuae sanctitas nihil potest cogitare pollutum, quae vices in terris gerens Christi, totius est misericordiae sedes, verae pietatis exemplum, summae religionis apex.* Aliam, qua filium alloquitur, qui Bononiae aberat, cuius hoc est principium: *Scientia, mi fili, coronat homines, et eos contentos reddit, quam cupiunt sapientes, negligunt insipientes, honorant boni, vituperant mali*' (Ed. 1828, pp. 110–14). Here again there are sundry clausulae which correspond with those of the *cursus*, but, as in the case of the letters of Salutati quoted above, they are obviously accidental (see p. 8, n. 5 *ad fin.*).

[2] See Parodi, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xix. 273.

but not in the remainder of the letter, which is in the nature of a commentary, and full of technical terms and quotations.[1]

The non-argumentative portions of the *Quaestio* are the proem or address, the first section, which is introductory, and the last, which records the place, circumstances, and date of the discussion. Now, taking the text as revised by Dr. Shadwell, and printed in the third edition of the *Oxford Dante* (1894), we find—

In the proem: (uni)vérsis et síngulis (*t*)[2]; lítteras ìnspectúris (*v*); (in) éo salútem (*pl*); (veri)tátis et lúmen (*pl*).

In § 1: (exis)ténte me Mántuae (*t*); quaédam exórta est (*t*); (dila)táta multóties (*t*); (indetermi)náta restábat (*pl*); (a)móre veritátis (*pl*[2]); (con)tínue sim nutrítus (*v*); (quaesti)ónem praefátam (*pl*); línquere ìndiscússam (*v*); vérum osténdere (*t*); cóntra dissólvere (*t*); (veri)tátis amóre (*pl*); ódio fàlsitátis (*v*); lívor multórum (*pl*); (con)fíngere sólent (*pl*[4]); dícta transmútent (*pl*); plácuit ínsuper (*t*[3]); dígitis èxaráta (*v*); á me relínquere (*t*); cálamo dèsignáre (*v*). In this section the *velox* is employed no less than five times, and in each case it seems intended to emphasize a particular point: 'continue sim nutritus' (l. 6); 'linquere indiscussam' (l. 8); 'odio falsitatis' (l. 11); 'digitis exarata' (l. 16); 'calamo designare' (l. 18).

In § 24 we have: phílosophía (*pl*[3])[3]; (sacro)sáncto Romáǹo (*pl*); úrbe Veróna (*pl*); Hélenae glòriósae (*v*); cléro Veronénsi (*pl*[2]); (cari)táte ardéntes (*pl*); (ro)gámina non admíttunt (*v*); (humili)tátis virtútem (*pl*); (pro)báre videántur (*pl*[2]); (inter)ésse refúgiunt (*t*); nátivitátem (*pl*[3]); ínnuit vènerándum (*v*); (Ianu)áriis Ídibus (*t*[3]); (Ka)léndas Februárias (*t*[2]).

[1] Exceptions of a similar nature, it may be observed, covering titles, dates, quotations, and technical phraseology generally, were formally recognized in the rules of the *cursus* of the Roman Curia (see Valois, *Étude sur le Rythme des Bulles Pontificales*, in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, xlii. 258; and Poole, *op cit.*, pp. 80, 94).

[2] For the explanation of these abbreviations, see the Table on pp. 7, 8.

[3] *Philosophia*, and many other words in *-ia* of Greek origin, according to mediaeval usage were paroxytone (see my *Dante Studies and Researches*, p. 102, n. 4; and Thurot, *Notices et Extraits de divers manuscrits latins pour servir à l'histoire des doctrines grammaticales au moyen âge*, p. 406, in *Notices et Extraits*,

It may be remarked that the writer of the treatise was evidently thoroughly imbued with the *cursus*, and accustomed to its use, for, consciously or unconsciously, he is continually introducing *cursus* endings even in the argumentative portions, especially at the end of a section—note, for example, the endings of § 2, (ha)bére videbántur (*pl*²); § 3, véro exclúdi (*pl*); § 8, (su)périus tàngebátur (*v*); § 9, (su)périus pràenotáta (*v*); § 12, déstrui dèbebátur (*v*); §§ 13, 19, órdine dìcendórum (*v*); § 17, (ap)párens et non exístens (*v*). Also we find in the same parts of the treatise numerous instances of the *velox*, employed apparently more or less for the sake of emphasis; e.g. in § 2, (habi)tábilem àppellámus; in § 3, (ab) ómnibus cònfirmátur; in § 4, (nobi)líssimo còntinénti; in § 11, tália ìnveníre; in § 12, (rideret Aris)tóteles si audíret; in § 15, ípsius Àmphitrítis; (descen)déntia mànifestant; in § 18, ímpetu rètrahúntur; in § 19, (dis)tántia tèrminórum.[1]

We have now to show that Dante observed the *cursus*, with the reservations above mentioned, in the *De Monarchia* and *De Vulgari Eloquentia*. In the first chapter of the first book of the *De Monarchia* we find, (inter)ésse vidétur (*pl*); (anti)quórum ditáti sunt (*t*); pósteris pròlabórent (*v*); hábeat quo ditétur (*v*); ésse non dúbitet (*t*); (docu)méntis imbútus (*pl*); (ad)férre non cúrat (*pl*); (pernici)ósa vorágo (*pl*); sémper ingúrgitans (*t*); (ingurgi)táta refúndens (*pl*); mécum recógitans (*t*); (quan)dóque redárguar (*t*); (non) módo turgéscere (*t*); (fructifi)cáre desídero (*t*); (os)téndere vèritátes (*v*); íterum dèmonstráret (*v*); (felici)tátem osténsam (*pl*); (reos)téndere

xxxii. 2). That Dante so accented *philosophia*, *prophetia*, and *monarchia*, is proved by the *cursus* in the following passages, viz. (philoso)phiae doméstico (*t*) (*Epist.* ix. 32); digitum pròphetiae (*v*) (*Epist.* vi. 186); (apos)tólicae mònarchiae (*v*) (*Epist.* vi. 53). Of *monarchia* we have a well-known instance in the first line of the epitaph of Dante, 'Iura Monarchiae, Superos, Phlegetonta, lacusque'.

[1] The same points are noticeable in the expository portions of *Epist.* x—see the endings of §§ 6 (*pl*), 7 (*pl*), 11 (*v*), 13 (*v*), 15 (*pl*³), 16 (*v*), 19 (*v*), 21 (*pl*), 28 (*v*), 29 (*t*), 30 (*pl*), 32 (*pl*), 33 (*v*); conspicuous instances of the *velox*, apart from other *cursus* endings, in the same portions of the letter are glóriae libertátem (l. 154); (ar)bitrii libertátem (ll. 174, 241); cómparent aùditóris (l. 305); gaúdia Pàradísi (l. 337); pótuit rètinére (l. 346); (auc)tóritas mànifestat (l. 353); (es)séntiae et virtútis (l. 399); pénetrat et respléndet (l. 429); córpora ùnivérsa (l. 444); (in) saécula saèculórum (l. 628).

cònarétur (*v*); (a Cice)róne defénsam (*pl*); (re)súmeret dèfen-sándam (*v*); (taedi)ósa praestáret (*pl*); (oc)últas et útiles (*t*); máxime látens (*pl*[4]); (immedi)áte ad lúcrum (*pl*); (ab) ómnibus ìntentáta (*v*); (enucle)áre latíbulis (*t*); múndo pervígilem (*t*); glóriam àdipíscar (*v*); víres aggrédior (*t*); (vir)túte confídens (*pl*); (largi)tóris illíus (*pl*).

In the first chapter of the first book of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* we have, (inveni)ámus tractásse (*pl*); (neces)sáriam vìdeámus (*v*); (na)túra permíttit (*pl*); (luci)dáre illórum (*pl*); ámbulant per platéas (*v*); (posteri)óra putántes (*pl*); (aspi)-ránte de coélis (*pl*); (prod)ésse tentábimus (*t*); nóstri ingénii (*t*); póculum haùriéntes (*v*); (compi)lándo ab áliis (*t*); (poti)óra miscéntes (*pl*); (potio)náre possímus (*pl*); (dul)císsimum hỳdroméllum (*v*); and so on to the end of the chapter, which is wound up with a *velox*, (in)téntio pèrtractáre.

As in the case of the *Quaestio* and of *Epist.* x, so in the argumentative portions of the *De Monarchia* and *De Vulgari Eloquentia* the occurrence of *cursus* clausulae is frequent. This is noticeable in many of the section and chapter endings of both works[1]; as well as in occasional passages of some length in which the observance of the *cursus* is sustained throughout.[2] In both works also we find numerous instances of the similar use of the 'emphatic' *velox*.[3]

It is evident, then, that the author of the *Quaestio* follows the same principles and practice with regard to the *cursus* as

[1] See for instance the chapter endings of *Mon.* i. 3 (*v*), 4 (*v*), 5 (*t*), 8 (*v*), 12 (*pl*), 16 (*pl*); ii. 1 (*t*), 2 (*pl*), 3 (*pl*), 4 (*t*), 8 (*t*), 10 (*pl*), 12 (*pl*); iii. 1 (*pl*), 2 (*pl*), 3 (*t*), 4 (*t*), 5 (*pl*), 8 (*v*), 9 (*v*), 10 (*v*), 14 (*t*), 16 (*v*); and of *V. E.* i. 1 (*v*), 2 (*pl*), 3 (*t*), 4 (*t*[3]), 5 (*t*), 8 (*pl*), 9 (*pl*), 12 (*v*), 13 (*pl*), 14 (*pl*), 15 (*pl*), 16 (*v*), 17 (*pl*), 18 (*v*); ii. 1 (*v*), 2 (*v*), 4 (*v*), 5 (*v*), 6 (*v*), 7 (*t*), 8 (*t*), 9 (*tl*), 10 (*v*), 11 (*t*), 13 (*t*).

[2] For example, in *Mon.* ii. 3. ll. 1–42; ii. 5, ll. 31–42; iii. 16, ll. 75–113; and in *V. E.* i. 5, ll. 10–34; i. 6, ll. 17–38; i. 7, ll. 1–70; i. 8, ll. 1–44; i. 9, ll. 1–107, &c., &c. It may be mentioned that the observance of the *cursus* is more noticeable in the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* than in the *De Monarchia*.

[3] For example, to quote but a few out of the many instances, in *Mon.* i. 4, l. 44, (manifes)tissimam vèritátem; ii. 1, l. 26, (in hoc) único còncordántes; ii. 3, l. 32, (in me)móriam sèmpitérnam; ii. 4, l. 49, (con)córditer còntestántur; and in *V. E.* i. 7, l. 38, (memor)ábili càstigávit; i. 8, l. 28, (o)céano límitátur; i. 9, l. 89, várie vàriétur; i. 10, l. 20, (his)tóriae ac doctrinae; i. 12, l. 58, túrpiter bàrbarizant; &c.

does Dante in his undisputed Latin works.[1] It may be claimed, therefore, that the result of the application of the *cursus* test to the treatise furnishes, as it were by a side wind, a remarkable confirmation of the conclusion arrived at on wholly independent grounds by Dr. Moore, namely, that the *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra*, 'though corrupted possibly in some of its details', is 'in all essential points the production of the same mind and pen to which we owe the *Divina Commedia*, the *De Monarchia*, and the *Convivio*'—and, as we may now add, the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* and the *Epistolae*.

[1] The observance of the *cursus* in Dante's *Epistolae* has only been touched on incidentally in the present paper, the subject having been treated more or less fully by several other writers; see, for example, Parodi's article *Intorno al Testo delle Epistole di Dante e al Cursus*, in *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N S. xix. 249-75 (December 1912). For a detailed examination of the subject, see the 'Appendix on the *Cursus*' in my edition of the *Letters of Dante* (1920), pp. 234-47.

A MISPUNCTUATION IN THE TITLE OF DANTE'S LETTER TO HENRY VII

(*Epist.* vii)[1]

In all the printed editions of the Latin text of Dante's Letter to the Emperor Henry VII (*Epist.* vii), beginning with that of Witte, the first editor, in his *Dantis Alligherii Epistolae quae exstant* (Patavii, 1827), down to that of the anonymous editor[2] of the volume *De Monarchia e De Vulgari Eloquentia con le Epistolae e la Quaestio de Aqua et Terra di Dante Alighieri*, recently[3] published by Barbèra in the new issue of the *Collezione Diamante* at Florence, my own text of the letter printed in the *Modern Language Review* for January 1915 (vol. x, pp. 65 ff.), and that of Pistelli in his *Piccola Antologia della Bibbia Volgata . . . con alcune Epistole di Dante e del Petrarca* (pp. 210 ff.), published at Florence in the same year (1915), not excepted, the last sentence but one of the title is made to end at 'terrae': 'ac universaliter omnes Tusci qui pacem desiderant terrae, . . .' The concluding words of the title according to the reading of the only two MSS. in which the title has been preserved (viz. *Cod. S. Pantaleo 8* in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele at Rome, and *Cod. Lat. xiv. 115* in the Biblioteca Marciana at Venice), are 'obsculum ante pedes', for which Witte arbitrarily and *sub silentio* substituted 'osculantur pedes', a falsification of the text in which he has been followed by every subsequent editor of the letter, with the exception of Pistelli and myself.

In the *textus receptus*, therefore, which runs 'ac universaliter omnes Tusci qui pacem desiderant terrae, osculantur pedes', and in the translations based upon it, the word 'terrae' is

[1] Reprinted, with corrections, from *Bulletin Italien* (Juillet—Déc. 1918), xviii. 111–13.

[2] The late Professor Arnaldo della Torre.

[3] In 1917.

construed with 'pacem desiderant': 'and all the Tuscans everywhere who desire peace upon earth [or, the peace of the land], offer a kiss at his [the Emperor's] feet'. Thus Fraticelli and Torri render: 'Tutti universalmente i Toscani, che pace in terra desiderano, mandano baci a' suoi piedi'; Passerini: 'Tutti quanti i Toscani desiderosi di pace sulla terra, baciano i piedi'; and Kannegiesser: 'alle den Landfrieden liebenden Tuscier'. The English translators follow suit; Latham renders: 'all Tuscans everywhere, who desire the public peace'; and Wicksteed: 'all the Tuscans generally who desire the peace of the land'.

Now, while reading lately Latin letters contemporary with Dante in the course of my work upon the *Epistolae*, I was struck by the occurrence in the titles of two letters, addressed respectively by the cities of Lucca and of Siena to King Robert of Sicily, of the formula 'terre obsculum ante pedes'. The title of the first, which is dated October 13, 1312, runs: 'Serenissimo principi dno. Roberto dei gratia Illustri Ierusalem et Sicilie Regi, Ducatus Apulie, Principatus Capue, Andegauie provincie et Folcacherii comiti . . . Potestas, Capitaneus... Anciani... Priores... Vexillarius Iusticie, quinque viri auctoritatem communis habentes, consilium, populus et commune Civitatis Lucane, terre obsculum ante pedes.'[1]

That of the second, which is undated, runs:

'Serenissimo Principi dno. Roberto, dei gratia Ierusalem et Sicilie Regi Illustri, Capitanei partis Guelforum Civitatis Senarum, terre obsculum ante pedes.'[2]

These instances of this formula at once made me feel doubtful as to the accepted rendering of the title of Dante's letter to Henry VII; and on turning to the two fourteenth-century Italian translations of the letter my doubts were confirmed. In one of them (that printed by Doni, Biscioni, Witte, and others), the concluding sentences of the title are

[1] Printed by G. Dönniges, in *Acta Henrici VII. Imperatoris Romanorum* (Berolini, 1839), Pars ii, p. 233, with the heading, 'Epistola Lucanorum ad Regem Robertum e duobus exemplis (fol. 44 et fol. 74) Manuscripti iii Athenaei'.

[2] Printed by Dönniges, *op. cit.*, p. 234, with the heading, 'Epistola Civitatis Senarum ad Regem Robertum. Ex MSo. Athen. iii. fol. 43.'

rendered: 'Tutti i Toscani universalmente, che pace desiderano, mandano baci alla terra dinanzi a vostri piedi'—a rendering which Witte stigmatized as a mere blunder, for he notes: 'vetus interpres male distinxit, *desiderant, terrae osculum*'. In the other translation, that contained in the S. Pantaleo MS., which was printed by me in the *Modern Language Review* for July 1914,[1] the rendering is: 'Vniuersalmente tucti I toscanj che pace desiderano | ala terra denanci ai pedi | basci mandano'. It may be contended that this rendering is indeterminate; but the punctuation of the MS., in which a stroke, the equivalent of our comma, is placed after 'desiderano', shows that the scribe intended 'a la terra' to be construed, not with 'pace desiderano', but with 'basci mandano'.

Further, in the S. Pantaleo Latin text of the letter, in which the punctuation is unusually careful, a stroke (i. e. comma) after 'desiderant' points to a like conclusion: 'vniuersaliter omnes Tuscj | qui pacem desciderant | terre obsculum ante pedes'. The Venetian MS., it should be mentioned, affords no assistance with regard to this particular point, the text of the title being without any marks of punctuation whatever.

My doubts were finally confirmed by a consideration of the *cursus*.

It is true that 'desíderant térrae' represents a form of clausula, sometimes known as *cursus medius*,[2] which was recognized by mediaeval writers; but this form was comparatively rarely used by Dante, whereas 'pácem desíderant' gives a normal *tardus*, followed by a normal *velox*, '(terrae) ósculum ànte pédes'[3]; in any case, if Dante had intended 'terrae' to be construed with 'pacem desiderant', he could quite easily have preserved the *tardus* by writing 'terrae pacem desiderant', or 'pacem terrae desiderant'.

[1] Vol. ix, pp. 335 ff.

[2] See A. De Santi, *Il Cursus nella Storia Letteraria e nella Liturgia*, p. 26; and A. C. Clark, *The Cursus in Mediaeval and Vulgar Latin*, p. 19.

[3] The clausulae in the title (as emended) are 'Dómino sìngulàri' (*velox*); 'sémper Augústo' (*planus*); 'éxul imméritus' (*tardus*); 'universáliter òmnes Túsci' (*velox*); 'pácem desíderant' (*tardus*); and 'ósculum ànte pédes' (*velox*).

In view of these corroborative *data* I think there can hardly be a question that, in spite of Witte's *dictum*, the mediaeval rendering was correct, and that modern editors and translators, misled by Witte himself, have unwittingly gone astray. I propose, therefore, to read: 'ac universaliter omnes Tusci qui pacem desiderant, terrae osculum ante pedes'; and to render: 'and all the Tuscans everywhere who are desirous of peace, offer a kiss on the ground before his feet'.

'ANUBIS' OR 'A NUBIBUS' IN DANTE'S LETTER TO HENRY VII

(*Epist.* vii, l. 86)?[1]

In the passage in question Dante quotes to the Emperor Henry VII (who was delaying before Cremona, instead of hastening, as Dante wished, to crush 'the viper', Florence) the message delivered by Mercury, at Jupiter's bidding, to Aeneas, while the latter was busied about the buildings of Carthage, unmindful of his high destiny as the fated founder of Rome. The incident referred to is related by Virgil in the fourth book of the *Aeneid*, ll. 221 ff. In the standard text of Dante's letters, as represented by the *Oxford Dante*, the words of Dante are given as follows:

'Intonet illa vox increpitantis a nubibus iterum in Aeneam:

> Si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum,
> Nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem;
> Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli
> Respice; cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus
> Debentur.'

A nubibus here is the reading of all the printed editions except those of Torri and Giuliani, who read *Anubis*. The question is, which of these readings, each of them presumably based on MS. authority, is correct? The Latin text of this letter has been preserved in three MSS. only, so far as is known. Of these, two belong to the fourteenth century, namely, one in the Vatican Library (*Cod. Vaticano-Palatino Latino 1729*), and one in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele at Rome (*Cod. S. Pantaleo 8*); while the third, formerly in the Biblioteca Muranese, now in the Biblioteca Marciana at Venice (*Cod. Marc. Lat. xiv. 115*), belongs to the end of the fifteenth century.

[1] Reprinted, with additions and corrections, from *Bulletin Italien* (Janv.—Mars 1912), xii. 1-5.

The text of this last MS., the Venetian MS., was first printed by Witte in 1827 in his volume, privately printed at Padua, entitled *Dantis Alligherii Epistolae quae exstant.* The text of the Vatican MS. was first printed by Torri at Livorno in 1842 in his *Epistole di Dante Allighieri edite e inedite.* The text of the S. Pantaleo MS. was first printed by the present writer in the *Modern Language Review.*[1] Now in the passage under discussion Torri, as we have seen, read *Anubis*; while Witte read *a nubibus*, which, as he gave no indication to the contrary in his *apparatus criticus*, was naturally assumed to be the reading of his MS. This fact no doubt determined the adoption in the standard text of the reading *a nubibus*, for which could be claimed, as was supposed, the authority of the Venetian MS.

With a view to a new edition of the *Oxford Dante*, the editor of that work, Dr. Moore, and I recently obtained photographic reproductions of the text of Dante's letters contained in the three MSS. above mentioned. On examination of these reproductions I find that the reading of the Venetian MS. is not *a nubibus*, as printed by Witte, but *Annubis*; the reading of the Vatican MS. is *a nubis* (printed *Anubis* by Torri); while the reading (hitherto unrecorded) of the S. Pantaleo MS. is *a nubibus*. I may observe that the author of the early Italian translation of this letter, which has been attributed to Marsilio Ficino, and which has been preserved in a number of MSS., apparently had before him a MS. which read *a nubibus*, for he translates, 'quella voce discesa da cielo'.[2] The MS. evidence, therefore, may be regarded as pretty equally balanced. I think, however, on consideration, that there can be little doubt that *Anubis*, not *a nubibus*, is the correct reading.

To begin with, if *a nubibus* was the original reading it would be difficult to account for the substitution of *Anubis* in two out of the three known MSS. *A nubibus* is decidedly a case of 'facilior lectio'. It is easily intelligible that a copyist might

[1] April 1912. Vol. vii. pp. 208–22.

[2] See also *The S. Pantaleo Italian Translation of Dante's Letter to the Emperor Henry VII (Epist. VII)*, in *Modern Language Review* (July 1914), ix. 333, 339.

alter the unfamiliar *Anubis* into the very plausible *a nubibus*—the converse is hardly conceivable. But even if it be admitted that through ignorance or carelessness *a nubis* may have been written for a *nubibus* in a particular MS., is it not in the highest degree improbable that out of this ridiculous blunder the reading *Anubis* (or *Annubis*, as it is written by the scribe of the Venetian MS.) should have been evolved by a subsequent copyist?

In the next place, the reading *a nubibus*—in itself a curiously pointless phrase for Dante to use in the circumstances—would not represent the facts of the case. Mercury did not deliver his message to Aeneas 'from the clouds'. He was expressly dispatched by Jupiter down to earth. Virgil represents him as descending first upon Mt. Atlas, and as then swooping down, like a bird, towards Carthage, among the huts ('magalia') of which he alights, and thence addresses his message to Aeneas:

> Iamque volans apicem et latera ardua cernit
> Atlantis duri, caelum qui vertice fulcit . . .
> Hic primum paribus nitens Cyllenius alis
> Constitit; hinc toto praeceps se corpore ad undas
> Misit, avi similis, quae circum litora, circum
> Piscosos scopulos humilis volat aequora iuxta.
> Haud aliter terras inter caelumque volabat
> Litus arenosum ad Libyae ventosque secabat
> Materno veniens ab avo Cyllenia proles.
> Ut primum alatis tetigit magalia plantis,
> Aenean fundantem arces ac tecta novantem
> Conspicit. . . .
> Continuo invadit: 'Tu nunc Karthaginis altae
> Fundamenta locas, pulchramque uxorius urbem
> Exstruis? heu regni rerumque oblite tuarum!
> Ipse deum tibi me claro demittit Olympo
> Regnator, caelum et terras qui numine torquet;
> Ipse haec ferre iubet celeres mandata per auras:
> Quid struis? aut qua spe Libycis teris otia terris?
> Si te nulla movet' etc. (ll. 246 ff.)

In his speech to Dido later on, when he has to explain his reasons for leaving Carthage, Aeneas refers to the message received from Jupiter by the mouth of Mercury, and lays stress

on the fact that the latter came within the walls of the city, and thus addressed him :

> Nunc etiam interpres divom Iove missus ab ipso—
> Testor utrumque caput—celeres mandata per auras
> Detulit ; ipse deum manifesto in lumine vidi
> Intrantem muros, vocemque his auribus hausi. (ll. 356 ff.)

Dante's acquaintance with the *Aeneid*, of which he makes Virgil himself say to him, 'tu la sai tutta quanta' (*Inf.* xx. 114), was far too intimate to allow of his being guilty, with this episode[1] in his memory, of the inaccuracy involved in the reading *a nubibus*.

As regards the employment of Anubis as a synonym for Mercury, it is of course well known to us that the Egyptian god was identified with Hermes, and hence with Mercury; but was this identification currently known and accepted in the Middle Ages, and, if so, have we any evidence that the information was accessible to Dante? The answer is in the affirmative. I find Anubis identified with Mercury in no less than four authorities, all easily accessible to Dante, of which one at least was certainly, and another almost certainly, known to him. These are the commentary of Servius on *Aeneid* viii. 698; the *Elementarium Doctrinae Rudimentum* (*c.* 1060) of Papias; the *Magnae Derivationes* (*c.* 1200) of Uguccione da Pisa, and the *Catholicon* (completed in 1286) of Giovanni da Genova.

Servius says :

'*Latrator Anubis*, quia capite canino pingitur: hunc volunt esse *Mercurium*, ideo quia nihil est cane sagacius.'

Papias :

'*Anubis* lingua aegyptiaca *mercurius* dicitur: qui colitur ab aegyptiis et pingitur canino capite.'

And Uguccione da Pisa (whose words are copied *verbatim* by Giovanni da Genova in the *Catholicon*) :

[1] Dante's familiarity with this episode is proved by the fact that he quotes Jupiter's speech to Mercury in the *De Monarchia* (ii. 7, ll. 79 ff.), and makes a pointed reference to Mercury's speech to Aeneas in the *Convivio* (iv. 27, ll. 64–70).

'*Anubis.* Nubes componitur cum *a*, quod est *sine*; et dicitur *hic anubis*, id est *mercurius*, quasi *sine nube*: est enim deus sermonis quia omnia revelat; et idem dicitur *cinocephalus*, a *cinos* quod est *canis*, et *cephas caput*, quia cum canino capite depingitur apud egypticos propter sagacitatem: est enim canis animal valde sagax; et producit *nu*, sicut nubes; unde Virgilius: Omnigenumque deum monstra et latrator anubis.'

The extensive use made by Dante of this last authority, the *Magnae Derivationes* of Uguccione da Pisa, which was the standard Latin dictionary of Dante's day, I have pointed out elsewhere.[1] Of his probable acquaintance with the commentary of Servius on Virgil instances are given in Dr. Moore's *Studies in Dante*,[2] and in my *Dante Dictionary*.[3] There is no reason to doubt, therefore, that Dante was familiar with the current identification of Anubis with Mercury; and this being the case, and regard being had to the considerations already mentioned,[4] there seems to be no justification for rejecting the reading *Anubis* in favour of *a nubibus*, as the most recent editors have done, in this passage of Dante's letter to the Emperor Henry VII.

[1] See my *Dante Studies and Researches*, pp. 97 ff.

[2] First Series, 189-91.

[3] See, for example, the articles on *Achille*, *Antenora*, *Fialte*, *Flegetonta*, *Manto*, and *Stige*.

[4] A further argument in favour of *Anubis* is that the resultant parallelism between 'Intonet vox Curionis in Caesarem' of ll. 81–2, and 'Intonet vox Anubis in Aeneam' of the present passage is much more in Dante's manner.

A MISREADING IN DANTE'S LETTER TO A FRIEND IN FLORENCE

(*Epist.* ix) [1]

UNTIL quite recently the accepted reading of the beginning of § 3 of this letter was 'Estne ista revocatio *gloriosa* . . .?' This was the reading of Dionisi, who first printed the letter, and of Fraticelli, whose text has been reproduced in the successive editions of the *Oxford Dante* (1894, 1897, 1904), and of sundry other editors of the letter. In 1845 Muzzi printed the letter afresh from the MS., and for *gloriosa* substituted *generosa*—an emendation which appears to have been ignored by subsequent editors for sixty years, until 1905, when Signor A. Della Torre printed a critical text as a preliminary to an able and exhaustive article on the letter in the *Bullettino*.[2] In this article Signor Della Torre unhesitatingly pronounced Muzzi's to be the correct reading—'è fuor di dubbio che si debba leggere *generosa*'.

My own attention was first directed to this reading by the Italian translator [3] of the third edition of my *Life of Dante* [4]; and after reading Signor Della Torre's arguments and emphatic pronouncement in favour of *generosa* I accepted the emendation without further question, and substituted 'generous' for 'glorious' in the translation of the passage in the fourth edition (1910) of my book. I also communicated the emendation to Dr. Moore for insertion in the next edition of the *Oxford Dante*; and by him it was communicated to the editors of the *Concordance of Dante's Latin Works*, in which *generosa* is duly registered, wherever this passage is quoted, in place of *gloriosa*. The emendation appears to have

[1] Reprinted, with additions and corrections, from *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana* (Marzo 1913), N.S. xx. 58–9.

[2] N.S. xii 122–3.

[3] Signor Gustavo Balsamo-Crivelli.

[4] The Italian translation was published by Fratelli Bocca at Turin in 1908.

met with general acceptance, and is introduced into the text by Signor Passerini, in his edition of Dante's letters, published at Florence by Sansoni in 1910.

In the course of a fresh study of the letter recently, however, and after a careful examination of Signor Della Torre's transcript, I came to the conclusion that the correct reading is neither *gloriosa* nor *generosa*. The actual reading of the MS., as recorded by Signor Della Torre in his notes, is *grosa*, which is the normal abbreviation, not of *gloriosa* (which is *glosa*), nor of *generosa* (which is *gnosa*), but of *gratiosa*, as a reference to any manual of palaeography will show (see, for instance, Cappelli's *Dizionario di Abbreviature*, pp. 136[a], 137[b], 138[a]). Dante's phrase, then, which by a curious mischance has been wrongly rendered for more than 120 years, ever since the first publication of the letter in 1790 by Dionisi, was not 'revocatio *gloriosa*', nor 'revocatio *generosa*' but 'revocatio *gratiosa*' —in every respect a more appropriate term than either of those which had been substituted for it.[1]

[1] Since this note was written two other texts of *Epist.* ix have been published, viz. by Signor Pistelli in his *Piccola Antologia della Bibbia Volgata . . . con alcune Epistole di Dante e del Petrarca* (Firenze, 1915), and by Barbèra in the new issue of the edition of Dante's Latin prose works in the *Collezione Diamante* (Firenze, 1917). In both of these the reading *gratiosa* is adopted. Signor Pistelli notes: 'La vera lezione è certo *gratiosa* (come ha visto il Toynbee), che certo è d' un' ironia più fine verso "la grazia" che gli è stata fatta.'

ON THE MEANING OF 'ALMUS' IN DANTE[1]

THE word *almus* occurs twice in Dante's works, both times in his letters, namely, in the title of *Epist.* v (to the Princes and Peoples of Italy), and in the text of *Epist.* vi (to the Florentines). In the title of *Epist.* v Dante applies the epithet to the city of Rome—'universis et singulis Italiae regibus, et senatoribus almae urbis'. Of the two English translators of the letter, one (Latham) renders the word by 'fair', the other (Wicksteed) by 'fostering'. The German translator, Kannegiesser, renders it by 'hehr'. The meaning of the word in classical Latin, of course, is not in doubt, and is familiar to every one in the term *alma mater*, 'nursing mother', applied to the Universities. But in mediaeval Latin the word bore a sense which seems somewhat remote from its etymology. By mediaeval writers it is commonly used as a synonym of *sanctus*. This, for instance, is the first meaning assigned to it in the dictionaries of Papias, Uguccione da Pisa, and Giovanni da Genova. Papias says: '*Almus*, *-ma*, *-mum*, idest *sanctus*, *pulcer*, *excelsus*, ab *alendo* dicitur.' Uguccione: 'Ab *alo*, *alis*, dicitur *almus*, *-ma*, *-mum*, idest *sanctus*, *pulcher*, *nutriens*, secundum Rabanum'; which is repeated by Giovanni da Genova in the *Catholicon*. St. Jerome is quoted as saying 'nostro sermone *almus* sanctus dicitur'.[2] In a mediaeval chronicle quoted by Du Cange the Emperor Ludovicus Pius is spoken of as 'Ludovicus Imperator qui cognominatus est Almus vel Sanctus'. Similarly Rienzi speaks of Boëtius now as 'sanctus' (in a letter written in 1350 to Charles IV of Bohemia: 'suscepi arma et signum sancti et illustris Romani

[1] Reprinted, with additions, from *Modern Language Review* (July, October, 1916), xi. 342, 464.

[2] See *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S. xxiii. 162.

rectoris et principis Boëtii Severini'[1]), now as 'almus' (in a letter written in 1351 to the Cardinal Guy de Boulogne: 'dilectissimus mihi almus ille Boëtius Severinus'[2]). An interesting instance of this use of *almus* occurs in the colophons of two MSS. in the Bodleian, one (MS. 11519) of the early fourteenth century, the other (MS. 24436) of the fifteenth, in each of which the phrase 'gratia Pneumatis almi' is employed as the metrical equivalent of 'gratia Spiritus Sancti'.[3] Du Cange quotes instances of the similar use of *Almitas* as a title of reverence, instead of *Sanctitas*, applied to dignitaries of the Church.

I have little doubt that it is in this sense of *sanctus* that Dante uses *almus* in the title of the letter to the Princes and Peoples of Italy, *alma urbs*, meaning Rome, being the exact equivalent of *urbs sancta* in *De Monarchia* ii. 5, l. 106, and of *santa città* in *Convivio* iv. 5, ll. 53, 179. Numerous instances of the similar use of the term *alma urbs* as applied to Rome occur in Rienzi's letters; for example, in his letters to the Communes of Viterbo (May, 1347),[4] Perugia (June, 1347),[5] Florence (June, July, 1347),[6] Lucca (June, July, 1347),[7] and Mantua (July, 1347)[8]; and also in his letters to Petrarch of July 28, 1347,[9] to Rinaldo Orsini of November 20, 1347,[10] and to Guy de Boulogne of 1351.[11]

In the passage in *Epist.* vi in which the word *almus* occurs, the *textus receptus*, as represented by the *Oxford Dante*, reads (ll. 39–40): 'Nempe legum sanctiones altissime declarant'. The word *altissime*, however (for which Torri reads *aperte*), is not in the MS., and is due simply to the ignorance or carelessness of the transcriber. The MS. reading is *alme* (= *almae*); so that the sentence correctly runs: 'Nempe legum sanctiones almae declarant', i.e. 'the sacred precepts of the law declare', the word *almus* here again being obviously used in the sense of *sanctus*.

[1] *Epistolario di Cola di Rienzo*, ed. A. Gabrielli, Roma, 1890, p. 104.
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 212.
[3] Yet another (MS. 24398) is mentioned in the *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, vol. i, p. 57. Another instance occurs on fol. 149 of MS. *Ital.* 1 (Cent. xv) in the John Rylands Library at Manchester.
[4] *Ed. cit.*, p. 6. [5] *Ed. cit.*, p. 9. [6] *Ed. cit.*, pp. 12, 29.
[7] *Ed. cit.*, pp. 15, 16, 29. [8] *Ed. cit.*, p. 28.
[9] *Ed. cit.*, p. 38. [10] *Ed. cit.*, p. 87. [11] *Ed. cit.*, p. 206.

Dante only uses the Latin word *almus* in these two passages; but he twice in the *Commedia* uses *almo*, and each time in this same sense of *santo*, though modern commentators and translators for the most part give it the meaning of the classical *almus*. The first instance occurs in *Inferno* ii. 20, here again applied to Rome: 'ei (i.e. Aeneas) fu dell' alma Roma e di suo impero . . . per padre eletto'; where Benvenuto da Imola comments: 'Roma dicitur alma urbs, idest sancta'. The second instance is in *Paradiso* xxiv. 138: 'l' ardente Spirto vi fece almi'; 'idest', says Benvenuto, 'fecit vos sanctos'.

DANTE'S USES OF THE WORD 'TRATTATO' IN THE *CONVIVIO* AND *VITA NUOVA*[1]

In the course of arranging the material for the article on *trattato* in my projected *Vocabulary of the Italian Works of Dante*, I found that Dante uses this word in the *Vita Nuova* and in the *Convivio* in a sense which, so far as I have been able to discover, is not recognized by any Italian dictionary.

In the *Convivio* I have noted four distinct uses of the word. In the ordinary sense of 'discussion' it occurs often enough; as, for instance, in such phrases as 'ordine del trattato' (*Conv.* ii. 2, l. 55; iii. 9, l. 1),[2] 'processo del trattato' (*Conv.* i. 9, ll. 52–3), 'entrare nel trattato' (*Conv.* iv. 16, l. 98), 'entrare per lo trattato' (*Conv.* iv. 16, ll. 34–5), 'procedere al trattato' (*Conv.* iv. 16, l. 16), and the like. It is also the term constantly employed by Dante to indicate a book or division of the *Convivio*. It appears from a passage in the first chapter of the first book that Dante intended the work to consist of fifteen books or *trattati*. He says: 'La vivanda di questo Convivio sarà di quattordici maniere ordinata, cioè quattordici Canzoni sì di amore come di virtù materiate' (ll. 101–5). As the first book is introductory, and as, in the existing fragment of the work, a whole book is devoted to each of the canzoni discussed, it is evident that the complete work, if carried out on the same plan, would have consisted of fifteen books. That Dante had planned out the whole work beforehand may be gathered from the instances I have collected of his use of *trattato* in this sense of book or division of the *Convivio*; for, besides the constantly recurring references to 'questo trattato' (*Conv.* ii. 7, l. 2; iii. 15, ll. 214–15; &c.), 'il

[1] Reprinted, with additions and corrections, from *Romania* (October 1903), xxxii. 565–71.

[2] The line-references are to the *Oxford Dante*.

presente trattato' (*Conv.* iv. 16, l. 18), 'il precedente trattato' (*Conv.* ii. 1, ll. 2–3; iii. 1, l. 1; &c.); 'il seguente trattato' (*Conv.* ii. 16, l. 94; iii. 7, l. 145; &c.), &c., &c., we find points reserved for discussion 'nel settimo trattato' (*Conv.* iv. 26, ll. 66–7), 'nel quattordicesimo trattato' (*Conv.* i. 12, ll. 87–8), 'nel penultimo trattato' (*Conv.* ii. 1, ll. 35-6; iv. 27, l. 101), 'nell' ultimo trattato' (*Conv.* i. 8, l. 131; iii. 15, l. 144), and so on.

The third sense in which Dante uses the word *trattato*—the sense which appears hitherto to have been overlooked—is that of the narrative or didactic portion of a canzone, as distinguished from the *proemio*, or introductory portion.

Lastly, he applies the term on occasion to the canzone as a whole, in so far as it treats of the particular subject he wishes to discuss. The term is applied by Dante in this way even when he has previously used it distinctively of the narrative portion of the canzone; thus, in *Conv.* iii. 10, ll. 83–4, after discussing in turn the literal meaning of the *proemio*, the *trattato*, and the *tornata* of the second canzone, he says: 'così termina tutta la litterale sentenza di questo trattato'.[1] In the same way, in his discussion of the third canzone, after referring repeatedly to the divisions of the poem by their technical names, he concludes with a reference to the canzone in its entirety as 'il presente trattato' (iv. 2, l. 164). Similarly in the *Vita Nuova*, after dividing the first canzone into three parts, the first two of which he distinguishes as *proemio* and *trattato* (*V. N.* § 19, ll. 93–5), he goes on in the next chapter to speak of the canzone itself as 'cotale trattato' (§ 20, ll. 7–8).

To return to the third sense of the word—the first canzone of the *Convivio* ('Voi che intendendo il terzo ciel movete'), which is divided by Dante into 'tre parti principali', consisting respectively of the first stanza ('il primo verso'), of the second, third, and fourth stanzas ('li tre versi che appresso del primo seguono'), and of the fifth stanza ('il quinto ed ultimo verso', *Conv.* ii. 2, ll. 58–72), has no *proemio* properly speaking; consequently in his discussion of this canzone Dante has no

[1] Compare the similar use of *tractatus*, in *Epist.* x, § 9, for the *Divina Commedia* as a whole.

occasion to make use of the distinctive term *trattato*. The second canzone, on the other hand ('Amor che nella mente mi ragiona'), opens with an introductory stanza, and is divided by Dante into three parts, to which he gives the distinctive titles of *proemio*, *trattato*, and *tornata*. He says:

'Questa canzone principalmente ha tre parti. La prima è tutto il primo verso, nel quale proemialmente si parla. La seconda sono tutti e tre li versi seguenti, ne' quali si tratta quello che dire s' intende. . . . La terza parte è il quinto ed ultimo verso, nel quale dirizzo le parole alla canzone' (*Conv.* iii. 1, ll. 100–9).

After dealing with 'la prima parte, che a proemio fu ordinata' (iii. 2, ll. 1–3), Dante proceeds to discuss the second part, and it is in the course of this discussion that he makes use, for the first time in the *Convivio*, of the word *trattato* in the particular sense to which I have referred. Having disposed of the 'primo verso' or *proemio*, he says (iii. 12, ll. 41–2): 'Al secondo verso, il quale è cominciatore del trattato, è da procedere'—'we must now pass on to the second stanza, which is the beginning of the didactic or treatise part of the canzone'. A little further on, in the next chapter, he uses the word again in the same sense, and within a few lines he uses it to indicate a book of the *Convivio* (iii. 13, ll. 24–38), a somewhat awkward juxtaposition which has not unnaturally misled translators of the work.[1]

The third canzone ('Le dolci rime d' amor ch' io solia'), like the second, has an introductory stanza, and is consequently in like manner divided into three distinctive parts. At the beginning of his exposition of it Dante says:

'Per meglio dare ad intendere la sentenza della proposta canzone, conviensi quella partire prima in due parti; chè nella prima parte proemialmente si parla, nella seconda si seguita il trattato' (iv. 2, ll. 2–6).

Then, having discussed the first part, he continues: 'Veduta la sentenza del proemio, è da seguire il trattato' (iv. 3, ll. 1–2). The term *trattato* in this sense occurs two or three times in the preceding chapter, in which Dante draws attention to the fact

[1] Dr. Jackson, who gives a reference to the present article, has avoided this pitfall in his translation of the *Convivio*.

that in the *proemio*, or first stanza of the canzone, the subject-matter is announced in one order, while in the *trattato*, or discussive portion of the poem, it is dealt with in the reverse order:

'È da guardare a ciò, che in questo proemio prima si promette di trattare lo vero, e poi di riprovare il falso; e nel trattato si fa l' opposito; chè prima si riprova il falso, e poi si tratta il vero' (iv. 2, ll. 121–5).

In the last chapter of this book of the *Convivio*, which is recapitulatory, the three distinctive names, *proemio*, *trattato*, and *tornata*, for the three divisions of the canzone, are again employed by Dante, and here again, as in the thirteenth chapter of the third book, he uses the word *trattato* in two different senses in two succeeding paragraphs:

'Come di sopra nel terzo capitolo di questo trattato si dimostra, questa canzone ha tre parti principali. Per che, ragionate le due, delle quali la prima comincia nel capitolo predetto, e la seconda nel sestodecimo (sicchè la prima per tredici e la seconda per quattordici è terminata, senza lo proemio del trattato della canzone, che in due capitoli si comprese), in questo trentesimo e ultimo capitolo, della terza parte principale brievemente è da ragionare, la quale per tornata di questa canzone fatta fu ad alcuno adornamento' (iv. 30, ll. 1–14).

It is the failure to recognize this technical usage by Dante of the term *trattato* which has led to the misinterpretation by some of the commentators of a disputed passage in the *Vita Nuova*. In his division of the first canzone ('Donne, ch' avete intelletto d' amore') in that work Dante says:

'Questa canzone, acciocchè sia meglio intesa, la dividerò più artificiosamente che le altre cose di sopra, e però ne fo tre parti. La prima parte è proemio delle seguenti parole; la seconda è lo intento trattato; la terza è quasi una servigiale delle precedenti parole' (*V. N.*, § 19, ll. 90–6).

The meaning of the expression *lo intento trattato* in this passage has been much discussed. Some commentators (Casini and Passerini, for example) take *intento* as a substantive and *trattato* as a participle, and interpret the phrase to mean 'il pensiero esposto'. Inasmuch, however, as Dante, as we have seen, repeatedly in the *Convivio* employs the word *trattato* to indicate the treatise or narrative portion of a canzone, in

contradistinction to the *procmio* and the *tornata*, there can be hardly a doubt that he uses it here in the same sense. The difficulty as to the meaning of *intento* has led to a 'facilior lectio' *intero*, which is adopted by Giuliani. As the MSS., almost without exception, read *intento*, this variant may be dismissed without further notice.[1] The explanation proposed by Fraticelli seems to be the right one, namely, that *intento* is to be taken in the sense of *inteso* from *intendere*, so that the phrase would signify 'l' argomento da me inteso', i.e. the matter I intend to treat of. The phrase would, in fact, be simply a concise form of the expression used by Dante, in the *Convivio*, of the *trattato* of the second canzone, which he speaks of as 'la parte nella quale si tratta quello che dire s' intende' (*Conv.* iii. i, ll. 103–4).

As the term *trattato*, in the sense of which we have been speaking, does not denote a structural division of the canzone, naturally no mention of the equivalent *tractatus* is to be found in the second book of Dante's *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, nor in the *Summa Artis Rithimici* (written eleven years after Dante's death) of Antonio da Tempo, both of which deal with the canzone from the point of view of the structure only.

The term, however, is used by Dante's contemporary, Egidio Colonna Romano, in his commentary on Guido Cavalcanti's famous 'canzone d' amore' ('Donna mi prega perch' io voglio dire') in exactly the same way as Dante uses it. Egidio begins his comment by saying: 'Questo dettato si divide in due parti, cioè in prologo, ed in trattato. Il trattato comincia quivi: *In quella parte*, ec.' (that is, at the second stanza). After disposing of the *prologo*, he takes the remaining stanzas of the canzone seriatim—'questa è la prima stanza del trattato'; 'questa è la seconda stanza del trattato'; and so on.

In the letter to Can Grande (*Epist.* x)[2] Dante several times uses the term *tractatus* of the *Commedia* as a whole (§§ 9, 12, 19, 33); but he does not employ it in the special sense to indicate the narrative portion of the poem, as distinguished

[1] The only variant registered by Barbi is *intutto*—see his critical edition of the *Vita Nuova*, p. clv.

[2] As to the authenticity of this letter, see Moore, *Studies in Dante*, iii. 284–369.

from the proem. These he here refers to respectively as *prologus* and *pars executiva*: 'dividitur ista pars, seu tertia cantica quae *Paradisus* dicitur, principaliter in duas partes, scilicet in prologum et partem executivam. Pars secunda incipit ibi: *Surgit mortalibus per diversas fauces*' (§ 17). The terms *proemio* and *trattato*, however, are used of the *Inferno* by Boccaccio in his *Comento* precisely as Dante uses them of his canzoni in the *Convivio*. At the beginning of his *Lezione seconda*, Boccaccio says:

'Dividesi il presente volume (i.e. the *Commedia*) in tre parti principali, le quali sono li tre libri ne' quali l'autore medesimo l' ha diviso: de' quali il primo, il quale per leggere siamo al presente, si divide in due parti, in proemio, e trattato. La seconda comincia nel principio del secondo canto.'[1]

The same or similar expressions will be found in several other commentaries on the *Commedia*. Benvenuto da Imola, for instance, at the beginning of his commentary on the *Inferno* says:

'Primus liber dividitur in duas partes principales, scilicet in prooemium et tractatum. Prooemium continet tria capitula, in quorum primo autor proponit, in secundo invocat, in tertio autem incipit tractatum' (i. 21).

And when he comes to the third canto he says:

'Expeditis duobus primis capitulis prohemialibus, in quorum primo Dantes proposuit, in secundo invocavit, nunc consequenter in isto tertio capitulo incipit suam narrationem sive tractatum' (i. 105).

Again, at the beginning of his comment on the second canto of the *Purgatorio* he observes:

'Postquam in superiori capitulo prohemiali poeta Dantes proposuit, invocavit, et narravit qualiter intraverit purgatorium . . . nunc consequenter in isto secundo capitulo incipit suum tractatum de his qui neglexerunt poenitentiam usque ad mortem' (iii. 50).

The alternative term *narratio* used by Benvenuto for *tractatus* in his comment on the third canto of the *Inferno* is interesting as supplying the clue to the correct reading of the

[1] And again, at the beginning of *Lezione settima*, he says: '*Lo giorno se n' andava* — Comincia qui la parte seconda di questa prima Cantica chiamata Inferno, nella quale dissi l' autore cominciare il suo trattato.'

opening lines of the comment of the Anonimo Fiorentino on the same canto. As printed the passage runs: 'Questo terzo capitolo si può dire essere principio d' una nazione a tutti gli altri del presente primo libro dello 'nferno'. The editor, Pietro Fanfani, finding it difficult to make satisfactory sense of the word *nazione* here, suggests that possibly the text is corrupt, but he has no emendation to propose. There can be little doubt that *nazione* is merely a copyist's blunder for *narrazione*, in the sense of Benvenuto's *narratio* or *tractatus*. The Italian term, it may be noted, is used by Vellutello in exactly the same sense in the discussion at the beginning of his comment on the *Inferno* as to how the first cantica is to be divided. He says:

'È cosa manifesta che l' autore, secondo lo stile di molti altri poeti, parte questa sua prima cantica in tre parti, propositione, invocatione e narratione, come chiaramente veggiamo ancora che fa le due seguenti. E la invocatione ognihuomo intende esser dopo il principio del secondo canto.

'... Ma dove la propositione, e la narratione cominci, sono state de gli espositori varie opinioni, perchè alcuni hanno detto li primi due canti esser in luogo di proemio, e che nel principio del terzo comincia la narratione.'

We may conclude with two more instances of the technical use of *trattato* or *tractatus* by commentators on the *Commedia*, which, with the foregoing, prove that the term was a recognized one in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, although it has apparently escaped the notice of the lexicographers. The Pisan commentator, Francesco da Buti, says in his introduction to the *Inferno*:

'Questa prima cantica si divide in due parti, perchè prima si pone il proemio, ove l'autore propone la materia di che dee trattare, facendo li uditori docili, benivoli et attenti, come comanda l' arte della retorica, e la invocazione delle muse; nella seconda si pone il trattato et incomincia quivi: *Per me si va*, &c.' (i. 11).

Again, at the beginning of his comment on the third canto he says:

'In questo terzo canto lo nostro autore incomincia il trattato del suo poema' (i. 82).

Similarly, Stefano Talice da Ricaldone[1] says:

'Primus liber, scilicet infernus, dividitur in duas partes, scilicet prohemium et tractatum. Prohemium continet duo capitula. In primo autor noster proponit, tangendo materiam de qua est tractaturus; in secundo invocat; in tertio incipit tractare' (i. 8).

[1] Stefano Talice's commentary has practically no independent value, it being little more than a compendium of that of Benvenuto da Imola. (See M. Barbi's article in *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S. xv. 213-36 (1908).)

'TISRIN PRIMO' IN THE *VITA NUOVA*, § 30, l. 6[1]

In a well-known passage in the *Vita Nuova*, in which Dante associates the number nine with the day, month, and year of the death of Beatrice, he says that she died in the ninth month of the year according to the Syrian usage, inasmuch as their first month corresponds to our October. This means, of course, that Beatrice died in June, which, as will be seen, corresponds to Hazirân, the ninth month in the Syrian calendar.

According to the reading of the most commonly received text this passage of the *Vita Nuova* runs as follows:

'Secondo la usanza di Siria, ella si partì nel nono mese dell' anno, però che il primo mese è ivi Tismin, lo quale a noi è Ottobre.'

This is the reading of the *editio princeps* (Florence, 1576), of the second edition (Florence, 1723), of all the eighteenth-century editions, and, with two exceptions to be noted presently, of all the subsequent editions down to that of Witte published at Leipzig in 1876. Witte was the first to adopt in the text the correct form *Tisrin*, instead of the corruption *Tismin*, which had been accepted by all, save two, of his predecessors.[2] Though he made this correction, however, Witte failed to see that yet another correction was needed in the *textus receptus*. This is all the more strange because his own manuscript[3] of the *Vita Nuova* (the same which suggested to him the substi-

[1] Reprinted, with additions and corrections, from *Dai tempi antichi ai tempi moderni — Da Dante al Leopardi — raccolta di scritti . . . per le Nozze Scherillo-Negri*. Milano, 1904, pp. 87–92.

[2] Fraticelli in his first edition (1839) read *Tismim*, but this was altered to *Tismin* in subsequent editions.

[3] This manuscript was purchased by Witte in 1831 from Piatti, the Florentine publisher; in 1873 it passed, with the rest of Witte's Dante collection, into the possession of the University Library at Strassburg, where it still (1904) remains.

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tution of *Tisrin* for *Tismin*) gives what is undoubtedly the correct reading of the passage; and, further, in two previous editions (those referred to above), one at least of which was known to Witte, the right reading had already been printed, though the name of the Syrian month appeared in an incorrect form in both of them. These editions are that published by Nobili at Pesaro[1] in 1829, and that published by Ciardetti at Florence in 1830, which is practically a reprint of the Pesaro edition.[2]

In these, instead of 'il primo mese è ivi Tismin', the reading is 'il primo mese è ivi Sirim primo'. The important point is the addition of *primo* to the name of the Syrian month.

Dante, as I pointed out in *Romania* some years ago,[3] derived his information as to the correspondence between the Roman and the Syrian months from the *Elementa Astronomica* of Alfraganus, the Arabian astronomer, whose work was accessible in the Latin translations of Gerardo da Cremona and of Johannes Hispalensis. In his opening chapter Alfraganus discusses the differences in the calculation of the years, months, and days, according to the Arabian, Syrian, Roman, Persian, and Egyptian calendars. With regard to the Syrian and Roman months (the point with which we are concerned) he says:

'Menses Syrorum sunt Tisrin prior, constans 31 diebus: Tisrin posterior, constans 30 diebus: Canun prior, 31 dierum: cuius 25 nox vocatur nox nativitatis: Canun posterior itidem 31 dierum est: Sabat tribus annis 28 dies habet, et quarto quovis anno, qui ipsis intercalaris

[1] Nobili, as a matter of fact, published two editions at Pesaro in the same year. The text is the same in both, but in the second edition a number of variants were printed in the margins. The first edition was issued under the auspices of the Conte Odoardo Machirelli on the occasion of the marriage of the daughter of a friend (not of his own daughter, as Gamba erroneously states).

[2] Both Witte and Beck suppose that the edition of Ciardetti (whose name was Leonardo, not Luigi, as Beck has it) was a reprint of the Milanese edition published by Pogliani in 1827. Witte confesses that he had not seen Ciardetti's edition; and it is evident that Beck had not, otherwise he would have seen at once that it was a reprint (with a few trifling modifications) of the Pesaro edition of 1829.

[3] See the article on 'Dante's obligations to Alfraganus in the *Vita Nuova* and *Convivio*' in *Romania*, xxiv. 413-32. See also *Ricerche e Note Dantesche* (Serie Prima), pp. 49-68; and *Dante Studies and Researches*, pp. 56-77.

dicitur, habet 29 dies: Adar 31 dies: Nisan 30: Ijar 31 dies: Haziran 30 dies: Tamuz 31 dies: Ab 31: Elul 30 habet dies. . . .

'Menses Romanorum numero dierum conveniunt cum mensibus Syrorum: nisi quod principium sumant a Ianuario: quem sequitur Februarius constans 28 diebus: quarto vero quovis anno habet 29 dies. Deinceps sequuntur Martius, Aprilis, Maius, Iunius, Iulius, Augustus, September, October, November, December.

'Itaque Ianuarius eorum, a quo annum auspicantur, respondet Canun posteriori Syrorum: quo observato in sequentibus mensibus facile quoque erit instituere collationem.'[1]

From these data it is easy to calculate[2] that *June*, our sixth month, corresponds to *Hazirân*, the ninth in the Syrian calendar; and that *October* corresponds to *Tisrin prior*. It is evident, therefore, that not *Tisrin*, but *Tisrin primo*, is the reading required in this passage of the *Vita Nuova*; and, from the evidence of the manuscripts, there is not the least doubt that this is what Dante wrote.

Of the manuscripts of the *Vita Nuova* collated by Beck for his critical edition[3] at least eight, among them the four earliest, three of which belong to the fourteenth century, give the qualifying *primo* after the name of the Syrian month. These are the *codice chigiano* L. VIII. 305 at Rome ('Tisirin primo'); the *codice magliabechiano* VI. 143 at Florence ('Thisirim primo'); the *codice martelliano* at Florence ('Thisinin primo') —all of the fourteenth century; *codice* CCCCXLV (288) in the Biblioteca Capitolare at Verona ('Tisirin primo'), of the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century;

[1] This passage, which is omitted from the three earliest printed editions of Alfraganus (Ferrara, 1493; Nuremberg, 1537; Paris, 1546), is here quoted from the edition of Jacobus Christmann (Frankfort, 1590).

[2] In the edition of Jacobus Golius (Amsterdam, 1699), the correspondence between the Roman and Syrian months is worked out fully in a comparative table, from which it is obvious at a glance that October answers to Tisrin prior, as Dante states in the passage under discussion:

'Primus Romanorum mensis *Ianuarius*, est Syrorum Canon posterior; ita conveniunt, 2 *Februarius*, et Xubât; 3 *Martius*, et Adâr; 4 *Aprilis*, et Nisân; 5 *Maius*, et Eijâr; 6 *Iunius*, et Hazirân; 7 *Iulius*, et Tamûz; 8 *Augustus*, et Ab; 9 *September*, et Eilûl; 10 *October*, et Tixryn prior; 11 *November*, et Tixryn posterior; 12 *December*, et Canon prior.'

A similar table, but on a different plan, compiled by Christmann, is to be found in the notes (p. 222) of the Frankfort edition of Alfraganus.

[3] *Dantes Vita Nova. Kritischer Text, unter Benützung von 35 bekannten Handschriften*, von Friedrich Beck (München, 1896).

codex L. *Ital.* 7 in the University Library at Strassburg[1] ('Thisir in primo')[2]; *codice corsiniano* 1085 at Rome ('Tisirin primo'); *codice nobiliano* at Pesaro ('Sirim primo')[3]—all of the fifteenth century; *codice vaticano capponiano* 262 at Rome ('Tchisir in primo'),[4] of the fifteenth or sixteenth century; *codice ambrosiano* R. 95 *sup.* 13 at Milan ('Tisirin primo'), of the sixteenth century.

The omission of *primo* after *Tisrin* in so many of the manuscripts,[5] and consequently in the majority of the printed editions, was no doubt due to the occurrence of the word just before, and to the ignorance of the scribes and editors of the fact that *Tisrin primo* was meant by Dante to represent *Tisrin prior*.

The correct reading, so far as *primo* is concerned, was first printed, as has already been shown, in the Pesaro edition of 1829; and it was reproduced by Ciardetti in his Florentine edition of 1830. By all succeeding editors, for more than fifty years, including Fraticelli (Florence, 1839), Torri (Livorno, 1843), Giuliani (Florence, 1863), Antonelli (Venice, 1865), Witte (Leipzig, 1876), and D'Ancona (Pisa, 1884), the incorrect reading was perpetuated. Three recent editors only, so far as I am aware, have printed the right reading ('il primo mese è ivi Tisirin primo'), namely Casini (Florence, 1885; second edition, 1891), Beck (Munich, 1896), and Barbi (Florence, 1907). Both editions of the *Oxford Dante*[6] (1894 and 1897) have the wrong reading; but the correction has been made in

[1] This is the manuscript which formerly belonged to Witte.

[2] A manifest error of the copyist for 'Thisirin primo'.

[3] Upon this manuscript, which is no longer in the possession of the Nobili family, and which Beck was unable to collate, was based the edition of the *Vita Nuova* published at Pesaro by Nobili in 1829. This manuscript, which for many years had been lost sight of, has been discovered lately at Cento. (See *La Vita Nuova*, per cura di Michele Barbi. Firenze, 1907, pp. lvii–viii, ccl–lii.)

[4] A copyist's error for 'Tchisirin primo', as in the case of the Strassburg manuscript.

[5] According to Barbi, *primo* is omitted from twenty-two out of the forty known manuscripts, including the whole group designated *b* by him. (See his edition of the *Vita Nuova*, pp. cxix–xx, cxxiii, 77.)

[6] In consequence, the wrong reading was adopted in my *Dante Dictionary* (s. v. *Tisrin*), as was pointed out by M. Barbi in the *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S. vi. 216. The correction is made in my *Concise Dante Dictionary*.

the text of the third edition (1904). Now that the correct reading has been established in the authoritative critical text edited by Barbi for the Società Dantesca Italiana, it is to be hoped that *Tisrin* (or *Tisirin*) *primo*, representing *Tisryn* (or *Tixryn*) *prior* of the Latin version of Alfraganus, will find its way without further question into all future editions of the text of the *Vita Nuova*.

Though Dante's authority for the correspondence between the Roman and the Syrian months was undoubtedly Alfraganus, it may not be without interest to point out that the information was available in several other mediaeval works on astronomy. For example, in a Latin translation of a thirteenth-century Arabian work, entitled *Liber anoe* (i.e. the book of the divisions of time), which is printed by Libri in his *Histoire des Sciences Mathématiques en Italie* (tome i, pp. 393–458), we find as follows:

Principium anni Latinorum est ianuarius . . . Et principium anni Sirorum est tisirim primus.
. . . Mensis Ianuarius latine, et est sciriace Kenum postremus . . .
Mensis Februarii latine, et est siriace Subat . . .
Mensis Marcii latine, et est syriace Adar . . .
Mensis Aprilis latine, et est syriace Nisan . . .
Mensis Maii latine, et est syriace Aiar . . .
Mensis Iunius latine, et est syriace Hazizaran . . .
Mensis Iulius latine, et est siriace Cemuz . . .
Mensis Augustus latine, et est siriace Eb . . .
Mensis September latine, et est siriace Eilul . . .
Mensis October latine, et est siriace Tisirin primus . . .
Mensis November latine, et est siriace Tisirin postremus . . .
Mensis December latine, et est siriace Kenun primus. . . .

The names of the Syrian months are to be found also in the *De Scientia Stellarum* of Albategni (Cap. XXXII); and in the *Tabulae Astronomicae Alfonsi Regis*, where they are ranged under the heading 'Menses Grecorum'. Several of the names, with their Roman equivalents, are also given in the *Vocabularium* of Papias (written *circa* 1060); for example:

Adar Syriorum lingua martius dicitur.
Nysan Syrorum mensis, qui dicitur martius.[1]
Thisri Syrorum lingua october mensis.

[1] *Sic.*

In the *De Proprietatibus Rerum* (written *circa* 1260) of Bartholomaeus Anglicus, again, in Liber IX (*De Proprietatibus Temporis*), Capp. VIII–XIX, the correspondence of the months is given with those of the 'Hebrew' calendar, in which most of the names are identical with those of the Syrian months.

Dante's introduction of the Syrian calendar, therefore, into the *Vita Nuova* is not altogether such an out-of-the-way piece of learning as at first sight it might appear.

'SOLLENARE' IN THE *VITA NUOVA*, § 12, l. 6; § 40, l. 28[1]

NEARLY all the printed editions of the *Vita Nuova*, from the *editio princeps* of 1576 down to the *Oxford Dante* of 1897, give a reading in the above two passages which is almost certainly wrong. In § 12, ll. 6 ff. the commonly accepted text reads: 'Poichè alquanto mi fu *sollevato* questo lagrimare, misimi nella mia camera là ove potea lamentarmi senza essere udito'—'after my passionate weeping had been calmed somewhat, I betook myself to my chamber, where I could lament unheard'. And in § 40, ll. 27 ff.: 'Per questo raccendimento di sospiri si raccese lo *sollevato* lagrimare in guisa, che li miei occhi pareano due cose, che desiderassero pur di piangere'—'owing to this fresh outburst of sighs, my weeping, which had been calmed, broke out afresh in such wise that my two eyes seemed to have no other object but to weep'.

The use of *sollevare* in this sense of to calm, alleviate, is very rare, if it can be paralleled at all. Dante, I believe, uses the word twice only, each time in its primary sense of to lift up, raise up; namely in *Inferno* xix. 105:

> Calcando i buoni e sollevando i pravi,

'trampling underfoot the good, and raising up the wicked'; and in *Inf.* xxxiii. 1:

> La bocca sollevò dal fiero pasto
> Quel peccator,

'the sinner uplifted his mouth from the fell repast'.

For *sollevato*, however, in these two passages of the *Vita Nuova*, there is a well-authenticated variant *sollenato*, which has the support of the most authoritative manuscripts,[2] and

[1] Reprinted, with additions, from *Bulletin Italien* (Juillet—Sept. 1904), iv. 181–5.

[2] See Barbi's critical edition of the *Vita Nuova* (Firenze, 1907), p. 25.

which is adopted by Casini in his second edition (1890), and by Beck in his critical edition (1896).[1] This variant was first introduced into the text by Machirelli in his Pesaro edition of 1829. But he only adopted it in the second of the two passages above quoted, viz. in § 40; wherein he was followed by Torri in his Livorno edition of 1843; while Witte in his Leipzig edition of 1876 registered the variant in his *apparatus criticus*, but did not adopt it.

The meaning of this word *sollenare*, which is of somewhat rare occurrence, was entirely misunderstood by Machirelli, as is evident from his note. He writes the word with a single *l* and double *n*, *solennato*, and says: '*Solennato, fatto solenne, palese.* Manca al Vocabolario. Dimenticava Dante *là dov' egli era*, e senza ritegno abbandonavasi al pianto. Diveniva adunque il suo lagrimare *palese*, *solenne*, *solennato*, e non *sollevato*' (p. 69).

This wholly erroneous interpretation of the word no doubt hindered the adoption of the variant by the majority of subsequent editors of the *Vita Nuova*. Carducci, for instance, accepting Machirelli's spelling and etymology, remarks in a note printed by D'Ancona in his second Pisa edition (1884):

'La variante: *solennato* (fatto solenne, palese), messa fuora nell' edizione pesarese, e raccolta dal Torri, è puramente ridicola.'

Carducci evidently never examined the manuscript evidence: otherwise he would have realized that, though Machirelli's etymology and interpretation are ridiculous, the variant itself pretty certainly represents what Dante actually wrote. The reading of the *textus receptus* is easily accounted for. In MSS. the distinction between *solleuare* (with *u* representing *v*) and *sollenare* would be so slight as to be hardly noticeable except by an unusually careful copyist; and in any case there would be the natural tendency to adopt the 'facilior lectio', and substitute the familiar *sollevare* for the comparatively unknown *sollenare*. Though this word is not common, there are a fair number of instances of its use by authors anterior to, or contemporary with, Dante. Two are registered in the *Vocabolario*

[1] And also, of course, by Barbi in his critical edition.

della Crusca (in spite of Machirelli's assertion to the contrary) —one from an early *Volgarizzamento delle Pistole di Seneca*:

'Tu la dovresti aver per te medesimo impresa per la tua infermità sollenare.'

The other from a translation of a work of Aldobrandini of Siena:

'Egli sollena l'angoscia dell' amore, donde molte genti sono sorprese.'

The *Gran Dizionario* gives in addition an example from an early work on farriery:

'Vegnente l'altro dì, rifeci subito il magisterio del lardo come prima, e il cavallo cominciò a sollenare l' ambascia.'

The *Vocabolario* of Tramater gives an instance from Brunetto Latini's *Tesoretto*, where the word occurs in rhyme, thus leaving no room for doubt as to the reading:

Ma fin Amor sollena
Del gran disio la pena. . . . (xix. 127–8.)

Casini quotes two instances from Chiaro Davanzati[1]:

Faccio per sollenar lo grande ardore
Ch' io sento per amare, lo ond' io incendo.
(*Antiche Rime Volgari*, iii. 43.)

And again:

Come la Tigra nel suo gran dolore
Solena nelo spelglio riguardando,
E vede figurato lo colore
Deli suoi filgli che' ella va ciercando;

Per quell dilletto obria lo cacciatore,
Dimora i' loco, nol va seguitando;
Così chi è compreso ben d' amore
Ave la vita, sua donna mirando:

Chè ne solena sua greve dolglienza,
Intanto che la mira sta gioioso
Credendo vincier lei per ubidenza. . . .
(*Ant. Rime Volg.*, iv. 253.)

[1] Barbi (*op. cit.*, pp. 25-6) quotes yet another instance from Chiaro Davanzati, from the Vatican MS. 3793: 'E par che ne soleni mia pesanza'; and another from Neri, from the same MS.: 'E sollenar lo foco Che m' arde a poco a poco'.

Casini also quotes, from an anonymous poem in the *Antiche Rime Volgari* (ii. 7), an instance of the substantive *sollenanza*, formed from *sollenare*:

> Aio gran talento
> Ch' el vostro amor m' acolglia
> Acciò che la mia dolglia
> Faciesse sollenanza.

I am able to add two other instances, both from Chiaro Davanzati:

> S' amor comanda ch' io degia sofrire
> E pur contarmi lo tormento im bene,
> Ciò che mi vene — dunq' è solenanza:
> Chè quanto omo è più forte e à più ardire
> Alora umilità li si convene,
> C' orgoglio tene — amore in ubrianza.
>
> (*Ant. Rime Volg.*, iii. 143.)

Again:

> L' Amore à la natura delo foco,
> C' al primo par di piciola possanza;
> Sormonta e sale in grande altura il poco,
> Inmantenente fa gioi' di pesanza.
> E 'n tali pene pascielo con gioco
> Che tutto tempo non àn sollenanza;
> Alita nello core e fa suo loco,
> Sospiri e pianti rende per usanza.
>
> (*Ant. Rime Volg.*, iv. 26.)[1]

Tramater also quotes two instances of the use of *sollenare* by a writer subsequent to Dante, namely, by Matteo Villani. In chapter 38 of the third book of his *Cronica* Matteo gives an account of the violent earthquakes which were felt throughout Tuscany in the winter of 1352. After subsiding for a time, he says, the shocks began again with renewed violence:

'E sollenati i tremuoti alquanti dì . . . vegnente la mattina di calen di gennaio in sul mattutino, rinnovellarono maggiori terremuoti' (ed. Magheri, vol. ii, p. 64).

In the 79th chapter of the same book, he uses the term of a lull in the hostilities during a sea-fight between the Genoese and the Venetians:

[1] A slightly different version of this sonnet is given on p. 286 of this same volume of the *Antiche Rime*.

'L' ammiraglio de' Genovesi . . . sollenata la battaglia, in fretta fece sciogliere undici galee della sua armata, . . . e diede voce di volere volgere e girare dalle reni de' nemici: e per questa novità i Veneziani ebbono paura, e sollenarono la battaglia, e stettono in riguardo, per vedere quello che le dette galee volessono fare' (ed. Magheri, vol. ii, pp. 104-5).

It is instructive to note that in both these passages, as Tramater points out, the printed editions, as in the case of the *Vita Nuova*, wrongly read *sollevare* for *sollenare*.

The above-quoted instances are sufficient to prove that *sollenare* is an actual word, with a well-defined meaning; and as there is excellent manuscript authority for *sollenato* in the passages quoted from the *Vita Nuova*, and its sense is exactly that which is required by the context, there can I think be little doubt that *sollenato* ought to be read in both cases instead of *sollevato*.[1]

[1] The emendation is adopted in the third edition (1904) of the *Oxford Dante*.

AN EMENDATION IN THE TEXT OF THE *CONVIVIO*

(iv. 22, ll. 131–3) [1]

In the twenty-second chapter of the fourth book of the *Convivio* (ll. 103 ff. in the Oxford text), speaking of the two-fold use of the human mind, viz. the practical and the speculative, Dante says that these together constitute the sum of human felicity. This felicity he declares to be the 'sweet fruit' which comes from the seed of divine goodness implanted in the mind of man at its beginning. Often, however, it happens that this seed does not produce fruit, either through lack of proper cultivation, or from neglect of its growth. On the other hand, a fruitful growth may be induced on a stock which did not originally spring from this good seed, by means of grafting. Consequently, argues Dante, no man can excuse himself for not bringing forth good fruit, inasmuch as, even if he had not the good seed implanted in him originally, yet he may always supply its place by means of a graft; and thus, he concludes (according to the punctuation of the printed editions), there might be as many who were grafted as there are of those who have allowed themselves to degenerate from the good stock:

'E però nullo è che possa essere scusato; che se di sua naturale radice l' uomo non ha questa sementa, bene la può avere per via d' insetazione: così fossero tanti quelli di fatto che s' insetassero, quanti sono quelli che dalla buona radice si lasciano disviare' (ll. 127–33).

Surely this is 'a most lame and impotent conclusion', especially in the mouth of Dante! Yet no editor nor translator of the *Convivio*, so far as I can learn, seems to have suspected that anything was wrong. The above, so far as punctuation

[1] Reprinted, with additions, from *Bulletin Italien* (Juillet—Sept. 1903), iii. 173–5.

is concerned, is the reading of the *editio princeps* (1490); of the three sixteenth-century editions (1521, 1529, 1531); of the eighteenth-century editions; of the Milan (1826) and Padua (1827) editions; of Pederzini's Modena edition (1831); of Fraticelli's first (1834) to sixth (1892) editions; and in fact, I believe, of every edition of the *Convivio* of any standing, except those of Giuliani (1874) and of the *Oxford Dante* (1894, second edition, 1897). In these last a full-stop is substituted for the colon at *insetazione*.

Of the English translators, Miss Hillard follows the punctuation of Giuliani, and renders:

'And therefore there is no excuse for any, for if man do not bear this seed on his own stock, he can easily obtain it by grafting. So, in fact, there should be as many who are grafted as there are of those who have allowed a good stock to run wild.'

Miss Sayer, with whose rendering that of Miss Hillard is practically identical, and Karl Ludwig Kannegiesser adopt the commonly accepted punctuation. Kannegiesser, whose translation is on the whole a scholarly performance, gives the following rendering of this passage:

'Und deswegen gibt es Niemand, der entschuldigt werden könnte; denn wenn von seiner natürlichen Wurzel der Mensch nicht Samen gewinnt, so kann er ihn doch haben auf dem Wege der Pfropfung; so möchten deren in der That so viele sein, welche gepfropft wären, wie derjenigen, welche sich von der guten Wurzel abführen liessen.'

I feel convinced that the passage as it stands at present does not represent what Dante wrote. A very slight alteration in the punctuation, however, would restore what I believe to be the correct reading. For the colon at *insetazione* I would substitute (with Giuliani) a full-stop; and instead of a full-stop at *disviare* at the end of the sentence I would place a note of exclamation. The passage would then read as follows:

'E però nullo è che possa essere scusato; che se di sua naturale radice l'uomo non ha questa sementa, bene la può avere per via d'insetazione. Così fossero[1] tanti quelli di fatto che s'insetassero, quanti sono quelli che dalla buona radice si lasciano disviare!'

[1] For a similar use of *così*, with the imperfect subjunctive, to express a wish, cf. *Conv.* iv. 11, l. 92: 'Così fosse piaciuto a Dio!'

The ironical exclamation ('Would indeed that there were as many who have been reclaimed from a wild stock as there are who have degenerated from the good stock!'), which is thoroughly in Dante's manner, at once gives point and emphasis to what is otherwise a feeble commonplace, and I have very little doubt that the sentence was originally so written.[1]

[1] The proposed emendation has been adopted in the third edition (1904) of the *Oxford Dante*, and in the translations of Wicksteed (1903) and Jackson (1909).

DANTE'S REMARKS ON TRANSLATION IN THE *CONVIVIO*

(i. 7, ll. 91–103)[1]

AT the conclusion of his exposition of the reasons which decided him to write the commentary on the canzoni of the *Convivio* in Italian and not in Latin, Dante says:

'Sappia ciascuno, che nulla cosa per legame musaico armonizzata si può della sua loquela in altra trasmutare, senza rompere tutta sua dolcezza e armonia. E questa è la ragione per che Omero non si mutò di Greco in Latino, come l'altre scritture che avemo da loro; e questa è la ragione per che i versi del Psaltero sono senza dolcezza di musica e d'armonia; chè essi furono trasmutati d'Ebreo in Greco, e di Greco in Latino, e nella prima trasmutazione tutta quella dolcezza venne meno' (i. 7, ll. 91–103).

It has not, so far as I am aware, been observed that these remarks were apparently inspired, directly or indirectly, by a passage in St. Jerome's *Praefatio* to the second book of the *Chronica* of Eusebius, a work which must certainly have been familiar to Dante, as being one of the chief text-books of chronology current in his day. St. Jerome, who translated (and amplified) the work of Eusebius, expresses himself as follows, in his prefatory address to two friends, as to the difficulties of the task of a translator:

'Vetus iste disertorum mos fuit, ut exercendi ingenii causa Graecos libros Latino sermone absolverent, et, quod plus in se difficultatis habet, poemata illustrium virorum, addita metri necessitate, transferrent. Unde et noster Tullius Platonis integros libros ad verbum interpretatus est: et cum Aratum iam Romanum hexametris versibus edidisset, in Xenophontis *Oeconomico* lusit; in quo opere ita saepe aureum illud flumen eloquentiae quibusdam scabris et turbulentis obicibus retardatur, ut qui interpretata nesciunt, a Cicerone dicta non credant. Difficile est enim alienas lineas insequentem non alicubi excedere: arduum, ut quae in aliena lingua bene

[1] Reprinted from *Modern Language Review* (January 1913), viii. 101–2.

dicta sunt, eundem decorem in translatione conservent. Significatum est aliquid unius verbi proprietate; non habeo meum quo id efferam; et dum quaero implere sententiam, longo ambitu vix brevis viae spatia consummo. Accedunt hyperbatorum anfractus, dissimilitudines casuum, varietas figurarum: ipsum postremo suum, et, ut ita dicam, vernaculum linguae genus. Si ad verbum interpretor, absurde resonat: si ob necessitatem aliquid in ordine vel in sermone mutavero, ab interpretis videbor officio recessisse.

'Itaque, mi Vincenti charissime, et tu Galiene pars animae meae, obsecro, ut quidquid hoc tumultuarii operis est, amicorum, non iudicum animo relegatis: praesertim cum et notario, ut scitis, velocissime dictaverim, et difficultatem rei etiam divinorum voluminum instrumenta testentur, quae a LXX interpret ibus edita, non eundem saporem in Graeco sermone custodiunt. Quamobrem Aquila, et Symmachus, et Theodotio incitati, diversum pene opus in eodem opere prodiderunt: alio nitente verbum de verbo exprimere, alio sensum potius sequi, tertio non multum a veteribus discrepare. . . . Inde adeo venit, ut sacrae litterae minus comptae, et dure sonantes videantur; quod isti homines interpretatas eas de Hebraeo nescientes, dum superficiem, non medullam inspiciunt, ante quasi vestem orationis sordidam perhorrescunt, quam pulchrum intrinsecus rerum corpus inveniant. Denique quid Psalterio canorius, quod in morem nostri Flacci, et Graeci Pindari, nunc iambo currit, nunc Alcaico personat, nunc Sapphico tumet, nunc semipede ingreditur? Quid Deuteronomii et Isaiae cantico pulchrius? Quid Salomone gravius? Quid perfectius Iob? Quae omnia hexametris et pentametris versibus, ut Iosephus et Origenes scribunt, apud suos composita decurrunt. Haec cum Graece legimus, aliud quiddam sonant, cum Latine, penitus non cohaerent. Quod si cui non videtur linguae gratiam interpretatione mutari, Homerum ad verbum exprimat in Latinum. Plus aliquid dicam, eundem in sua lingua prosae verbis interpretetur, videbit ordinem ridiculum, et poetam eloquentissimum vix loquentem.'

BOCCACCIO'S COMMENTARY ON THE *DIVINA COMMEDIA* [1]

In the summer of the year 1373 a petition was presented to the Signoria of Florence, on behalf of a number of Florentine citizens, praying that a lecturer might be appointed to expound publicly, in Florence, the book of Dante, 'librum Dantis qui vulgariter appellatur *el Dante*'—of that same Dante who, seventy-one years before, had been ignominiously expelled from Florence, and condemned by his fellow-citizens to be burned alive, should he fall into their hands—'igne comburatur sic quod moriatur'.[2]

The petition in question, a copy of which is preserved in the Florentine *Libro delle Provvisioni* for the year 1373, is to the following effect:

'Whereas divers citizens of Florence, being minded, as well for themselves and others their fellow-citizens, as for their posterity, to follow after virtue, are desirous of being instructed in the book of Dante, wherefrom, both to the shunning of vice, and to the acquisition of virtue, no less than in the ornaments of eloquence, even the unlearned may receive instruction; the said citizens humbly pray you, the worshipful Government of the People and Commonwealth of Florence, that you be pleased, at a fitting time, to provide and formally to determine, that a worthy and learned man, well versed in the knowledge of the poem aforesaid, shall be by you elected, for such term as you may appoint, being not longer than one year, to read the book which is commonly called *el Dante*, in the city of Florence, to all such as shall be desirous of hearing him, on consecutive days, not being holidays, and in consecutive lectures, as is customary in like cases; and with such salary as you may determine, not exceeding the sum of one hundred gold florins for the said year, and in such manner, and under such conditions, as may seem proper to you; and, further, that

[1] Reprinted, with additions, from the *Modern Language Review* (January 1907), ii. 97–120; originally read as a paper before the Oxford Dante Society.

[2] A clause in the sentence of March 10, 1302, pronounced against Dante and others, runs: 'Si quis predictorum ullo tempore in fortiam dicti Comunis pervenerit, talis perveniens igne comburatur sic quod moriatur.'

the said salary be paid to the said lecturer from the funds of the Commonwealth, in two terminal payments, to wit, one moiety about the end of the month of December, and the other moiety about the end of the month of April, such sum to be free of all deduction for taxes whatsoever . . .'; and so forth.[1]

On the ninth of August following, the petition was taken into consideration by the Signoria, and having been favourably reported on, the question whether it should be approved was put to the vote by ballot, the ayes being indicated by black beans, the noes by white, after the usual Florentine custom. On the votes being counted, it was found that there were 186 black beans to 19 white, being a majority of 167 in favour of the appointment of a lecturer on Dante.[2]

[1] Milanesi, in his edition of Boccaccio's *Comento* (vol. i, pp. i, ii), gives the text of the petition from the *Libro delle Provvisioni* as follows:

'Pro parte quamplurium civium civitatis Florentie desiderantium tam pro se ipsis, quam pro aliis civibus aspirare desiderantibus ad virtutes, quam etiam pro eorum posteris et descendentibus, instrui in libro Dantis, ex quo tam in fuga vitiorum, quam in acquisitione virtutum, quam in ornatu eloquentie possunt etiam non grammatici informari; reverenter supplicatur vobis dominis Prioribus artium et Vexillifero Iustitie populi et comunis Florentie, quatenus dignemini opportune providere et facere solempniter reformari, quod vos possitis eligere unum valentem et sapientem virum in huiusmodi poesie scientia bene doctum, pro eo tempore quo velitis, non maiore unius anni, ad legendum librum qui vulgariter appellatur *el Dante* in civitate Florentie, omnibus audire volentibus, continuatis diebus non feriatis, et per continuatas lectiones, ut in similibus fieri solet; et cum eo salario quo voletis, non maiore centum florenorum auri pro anno predicto, et cum modis, formis, articulis et tenoribus, de quibus vobis videbitur convenire. Et quod camerarii Camere comunis predicti . . . debeant dictum salarium dicto sic electo dare et solvere de pecunia dicti Comunis in duobus terminis sive paghis, videlicet medietatem circa finem mensis decembris, et reliquam medietatem circa finem mensis aprilis, absque ulla retentione gabelle; habita dumtaxat apodixa officii dominorum Priorum; et visa electione per vos facta de aliquo ad lecturam predictam et absque aliqua alia probatione vel fide fienda de predictis vel aliquo predictorum vel solempnitate aliqua observanda.'

[2] The record of the deliberation and voting of the Signoria upon the petition is preserved in the *Libro delle Provvisioni*:

'Super qua quidem petitione . . . dicti domini Priores et Vexellifer habita invicem et una cum officio gonfaloneriorum Sotietatum populi et cum officio Duodecim bonorum virorum Comunis Florentie deliberatione solempni, et demum inter ipsos omnes in sufficienti numero congregatos in palatio populi Florentie, premisso et facto diligenti et secreto scruptineo et obtento partito ad fabas nigras et albas per vigintiocto ex eis pro utilitate Comunis eiusdem . . . deliberaverunt die VIIII mensis augusti anno dominice Incarnationis MCCCLXXIII, indictione XI, quod dicta petitio et omnia et singula in ea contenta, admictantur, . . . et observentur, . . . secundum petitionis eiusdem continentiam et tenorem. . . .

The voting having been secret, the names of the voters have not been preserved, otherwise it might have been interesting to note to what families the dissentient minority of nineteen belonged. It is easy to conceive that the members of certain Florentine houses, whose forbears Dante has placed in Hell, or otherwise branded in the *Divina Commedia*, might be disinclined to vote for a proposal which would make it admissible for the poet's scathing remarks to be repeated publicly, and perhaps commented on, before friends and foes, by an official lecturer in their own city. Members of the Adimari family, for instance, who had been Dante's near neighbours, and were his implacable enemies, could hardly be expected to relish the reference to their low origin in the *Paradiso*, and the denunciation of their house as

> L' oltracotata schiatta, che s' indraca
> Retro a chi fugge, ed a chi mostra il dente,
> O ver la borsa, com' agnel si placa—

'the insolent brood, who are as fierce as dragons to those who fly from them, but to those who show their teeth, or their purse, are as mild as lambs' (*Par.* xvi. 115–17)[1]; nor would they care to have their fellow-citizens reminded that of one of their clan (Filippo Argenti) Dante could exclaim

> Bontà non è che sua memoria fregi—
> (*Inf.* viii. 47);

'Item supradicto Preposito, modo et forma predictis proponente et partitum, faciente inter dictos omnes consiliarios dicti consilii in ipso consilio presentes, quod cui placet et videtur suprascriptam quartam provisionem disponentem pro eligendo unum ad legendum librum Dantis, que sic incipit: "Pro parte quamplurium civium etc." . . . admicti et observari . . . et executioni mandari posse et debere, . . . det fabam nigram pro *sic*; et quod cui contrarium seu aliud videretur, det fabam [albam] pro *non*. Et ipsis fabis datis, recollectis, segregatis et numeratis . . . et ipsorum consiliariorum voluntatibus exquisitis ad fabas nigras et albas, ut moris est, repertum fuit CLXXXVI ex ipsis consiliariis repertis dedisse fabas nigras pro *sic*. Et sic secundum formam provisionis eiusdem obtentum, firmatum et reformatum fuit, non obstantibus reliquis XVIII ex ipsis consiliariis repertis dedisse fabas albas in contrarium pro *non*.' (Milanesi, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. ii.)

[1] F. Maggini points out (*Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S. xvii. 128) that the commonly accepted identification of this family with the Adimari is more than doubtful, inasmuch as Dante describes the former (l. 118) as derived from 'picciola gente', whereas the Adimari had long been one of the powerful families of Florence, one of their number having been consul in 1173. See, however, Villani, iv. 11).

and that another (Tegghiaio Aldobrandi) was consigned by the poet to the most disreputable circle of Hell, 'tra le anime più nere' (*Inf.* vi. 85; xvi. 41). For similar reasons we should be prepared to find among the opponents of the petition descendants of the Abati, of the Cerchi, of the Soldanieri, of the Chiaramontesi, of the Donati, and many others, whose memories are held up to execration in the *Commedia*, as enemies of their country, or as thieves and swindlers.

Within three weeks of the approval of the petition by the Signoria a lecturer was appointed in the person of 'Dominus Iohannes de Certaldo, honorabilis civis florentinus'. The actual record of Boccaccio's appointment has not been preserved, the leaf of the *Libro delle Provvisioni* for the year 1373, containing the entry, having unfortunately been torn out at a comparatively recent date.[1] It was still intact in 1604, as appears from a statement by Filippo Valori in his *Termini di mezzo Rilievo e d' intera Dottrina* printed in that year,[2] in which he says:

'Il qual Boccaccio, oltre al dirsi Maestro dell' Eloquenza, fu stimato di tal dottrina, che e' potesse dichiarare quella di Dante, e perciò, l'anno mille trecento settanta tre, lo elesse la Città per Lettor pubblico, con salario di cento fiorini, che fu notabile; e vedesi questo nel Libro delle Provvisioni.'[3]

The information, however, is supplied by another document, in the *Libro dell' Uscita della Camera*, preserved in the *Archivio di Stato di Firenze*, which records the payment to Boccaccio on December 31, 1373, of fifty gold florins, being the first instalment of his salary as lecturer on Dante. In this document it is stated in so many words that Boccaccio had been elected to the office on the twenty-fifth of the previous August, for the term of one year, at a salary of one hundred gold florins, which year commenced on the 18th of October following.[4]

[1] See Milanesi, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. iii.

[2] See Gamba, *Serie dei Testi di Lingua*, quarta ed., p. 554, col. *a*, No. 2006.

[3] See Manni, *Istoria del Decamerone*, p. 101.

[4] The text of the original document is given by Milanesi (*op. cit.*, p. iii) as follows:

'1373, 31 decembris.

'Domino Iohanni de Certaldo honorabili civi florentino electo per dominos

Boccaccio gave his first lecture on Sunday, the twenty-third of October,[1] 1373, as we know from an entry in the diary of his fellow-citizen, Guido Monaldi, who, among the notable events of the year, records: 'Domenica a dì ventitrè di Ottobre cominciò in Firenze a leggere il Dante M. Giovanni Boccaccio'.

The place where Boccaccio delivered his lectures is stated by Gaetano Milanesi, in the preface to his edition of the *Comento* (no doubt on the authority of Tiraboschi [2]), to have been the Church of 'Santo Stefano al Ponte Vecchio', that is, the Church of Santo Stefano and Santa Celicia, close to the Via Por Santa Maria. Milanesi, however, whose statement has been frequently repeated by subsequent writers,[3] is in error on this point. We have the evidence of one who himself attended the lectures, to prove that Boccaccio delivered them, not in the Church of Santo Stefano near the Ponte Vecchio, but in a still more ancient church, next in antiquity to the Baptistery itself, namely the Church of the Badia, which was also dedicated to Saint Stephen.[4] Benvenuto da Imola, who,

Priores Artium et Vexilliferum Iustitie dicti populi et Comunis, die xxv mensis augusti proxime preteriti ad legendum librum qui vulgariter appellatur *il Dante*, in civitate Florentie, pro tempore et termino unius anni incepti die decimo ottavo mensis ottubris proxime preteriti et cum salario centum florenorum auri pro anno quolibet, solvendorum secundum formam reformationis consilii dicti populi et Comunis de hac materia loquentis, pro ipsius domini Iohannis salario et paga primorum sex mensium dicti temporis, initiatis die decimo ottavo mensis ottubris proxime preteriti, pro dimidio totius dicti salarii, vigore electionis de eo facte, in summa florenorum quinquaginta auri.'

[1] Manni (*op. cit.*, p. 100), Tiraboschi (vol. v, p. 744, ed. 1823), and Colomb de Batines (*Bibl. Dant.*, p. 646), following a corrupt text of Monaldi's *Diario*, give the date of Boccaccio's first lecture as October 3, instead of October 23. That the former date cannot be correct is proved by the statement in the document quoted above (p. 56, n. 4) that Boccaccio's year of office began on October 18, so that his lectures must have commenced after that date. Moreover, Monaldi records that Boccaccio began lecturing on a Sunday, whereas October 3, 1373, was a Monday. The correct date is given in the Prato (1835) edition of the *Diario*.

[2] Vol. v, p. 744, ed. 1823.

[3] For instance, by Landau in his *Giovanni Boccaccio, sein Leben und seine Werke* (p. 233); by Cochin in his *Études Italiennes* (p. 167); and by Baedeker in his *Northern Italy* (ed. 1895, p. 417). Gardner, on the other hand, in *The Story of Florence* correctly states (pp. 212, 346) that Boccaccio lectured in the Church of the Badia.

[4] Later this church was dedicated to Santa Maria, whence it is now

as I have pointed out elsewhere,[1] took pride in describing himself as a pupil of Boccaccio, in his comment on Dante's reference to the chimes of the Badia, in the fifteenth canto of the *Paradiso*,[2] observes:

'In the inner circle of Florence is the abbey of the Benedictine monks, whose church is called Santo Stefano; where the chimes used to tell the hour more regularly than in any other church in the city. At the present time, however, it is sadly neglected and out of repair, as I noticed while I was attending the lectures of my revered master, Boccaccio of Certaldo, upon the *Divina Commedia*, which he delivered in this same church.'[3]

Though Boccaccio was not more than sixty, he was an old man of his years, and infirm in health, when he began his lectures; and he can hardly have hoped to carry to a close this last great undertaking of a busy life. In fact, he did not live to complete more than a sixth part of his arduous task, his commentary breaking off abruptly at the seventeenth verse of the seventeenth canto of the *Inferno*. In the winter of 1373 he was attacked by a painful disease, pronounced by modern medical opinion to be diabetes,[4] which gradually weakened him and ultimately proved fatal. He was also greatly shaken by the news, which reached him at Certaldo in the following autumn, of the death of his old friend and master Petrarch, who had died of apoplexy at Arquà on the eighteenth of the previous July.[5] In a letter written, at

entitled 'Santa Maria in Santo Stefano'. See Repetti, *Compendio Storico della Città di Firenze*, pp. 309, 350.

[1] See the article on *Benvenuto da Imola and his Commentary on the Divina Commedia* in my *Dante Studies and Researches* (pp. 218, 232 ff.).

[2] Lines 97–8.

[3] 'In interiori circulo est Abbatia monachorum sancti Benedicti, cuius ecclesia dicitur Sanctus Stephanus, ubi certius et ordinatius pulsabantur horae quam in aliqua alia ecclesia civitatis; quae tamen hodie est inordinata et neglecta, ut vidi, dum audirem venerabilem praeceptorem meum Boccacium de Certaldo legentem istum nobilem poetam in dicta ecclesia' (*Benevenuti de Rambaldis de Imola Comentum super Dantis Aldigherii Comoediam, Nunc primum integre in lucem editum, Sumptibus* Guilielmi Warren Vernon, *curante* Iacobo Philippo Lacaita. Vol. v, p. 145).

[4] See Cochin, *Études Italiennes: Boccace*, p. 167, n. 1.

[5] Monaldi, in his *Diario*, gives August 18 as the date of Petrarch's death: 'Venerdì a dì 18 d' Agosto morì M. Francesco Petrarca il gran Poeta ad Arquata presso Padova del male di gocciola.' This is certainly a mistake, as the news is mentioned in a letter of Coluccio Salutati to Benvenuto da Imola, which was

the beginning of November, to Francescuolo da Brossano, Petrarch's son-in-law, on the receipt of the news, Boccaccio gives the following melancholy account of his own condition:

'I was anxious to come to you at once, my dear brother, to mingle my tears with yours over our common loss, and at your side to breathe my laments to heaven, and say a last farewell over the tomb of our beloved father. But I must tell you that ten months ago, while I was lecturing in Florence on the *Commedia* of Dante, I was seized with illness, not so much of a dangerous nature, as long and wearisome. For four months past, at the entreaty of my friends, I have been in the hands, I will not say of physicians, but of quacks, who have not only increased my malady, but by doses and starvation have so upset my digestive organs, that I am reduced to a state of weakness hardly to be credited by any one who has not experienced it—my looks, however, tell their own tale to every one who sets eyes on me.

'Poor wretch that I am, you would find me sadly changed from what I was when you saw me in Venice! the skin of my body, once plump enough, is all shrivelled up, my colour has gone, my eyes are dim, and my hands tremble, while my knees are so unsteady, that so far from attempting to cross the Apennines, I could only just drag myself out of Florence with the help of friends to my farm here at Certaldo, where I remain, more dead than alive, torn with anxiety, and wasting away in idleness, not knowing what to do with myself, my sole hope of a cure being in the grace of God, who is able to overcome all diseases.'[1]

written from Florence on the 25th of July, less than a week after the event. (See *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, ed. Novati, vol. i, p. 172.) It is somewhat strange that Boccaccio should not have heard of Petrarch's death until three months after it was known in Florence. It is evident from the tone of his reply to Francescuolo da Brossano, that the announcement of the latter was the first intimation he received of it.

[1] The original, which is printed by Corazzini in *Le Lettere Edite e Inedite di Messer Giovanni Boccaccio* (pp. 377 ff.), runs as follows:

'Cum cuncta persolverem, amatissime frater, fuit animus venire illico daturus infortunio tuo meoque debitas lachrymas, tecumque in coelum ac superos questus meos, et ultimum penes bustum tanti patris vale dicturus. Verum iam decimus elapsus est mensis, postquam in patria publice legentem Comoediam Dantis magis longa, atque taediosa, quam discrimine aliquo dubia aegritudo oppressit, et dum per quatuor menses non dicam medicorum, sed fabulonum, amicorum impulsu consilia sequor, continue aucta est, et potionibus et ieiuniis adeo a solito ordine exorbitare coacta est nutritiva virtus, ut in debilitatem devenerim fere inexperto incredibilem, cui satis fidem praestat aspectus meus videntibus. Heu mihi misero! Longe aliter tibi viderer, quam is, quem vidisti Venetiis. Exhausta totius pleni quondam corporis pellis est, immutatus color, hebetatus visus, titubant genua, et manus tremulae factae sunt, ex quo nedum superbos Apennini vertices, sed vix usque in avitum Certaldi agrum, amicorum quo-

After referring to Petrarch's burying-place at Arquà, and to his books, and to Petrarch's legacy to himself of fifty gold florins for the purchase of a dressing-gown to keep him warm while at his studies on winter nights,[1] Boccaccio concludes:

'I am too ill to write more.... Even this short letter has taken me nearly three whole days to write, save for occasional intervals of an hour or two for the repose of my exhausted frame.'[2]

It seems probable, from what Boccaccio says in this mournful epistle, that he never resumed his lectures after the attack of illness to which he refers. How much of the fragment of commentary he has left was actually delivered as lectures it is impossible to say. That the matter was carefully prepared beforehand is obvious from the elaborate nature of the divisions, and from several other indications to which we shall recur later. It is not unreasonable to suppose that, though too ill to lecture publicly, Boccaccio may have occupied himself at Certaldo in continuing the commentary, in the hope of eventually resuming his course at Florence. But his end was not far off, and he died at Certaldo—it would almost seem pen in hand, for his last sentence is left unfinished—on December the twenty-first, 1375, rather more than a year after the above letter was written, having survived Petrarch, who was nine years his senior, by only eighteen months.[3]

It was at one time supposed that Boccaccio, far from leaving a mere fragment, had written a complete commentary on the whole of the *Divina Commedia*; and a fourteenth-century

rundam suffragio, deductus e patria sum, ubi semivivus et anxius, ocio marcens, et mei ipsius incertus consisto, Dei solius, qui febribus imperare potest, medelam expectans et gratiam.'

[1] Petrarch's will is printed by Fracassetti in his *Francisci Petrarcae Epistolae De Rebus Familiaribus* (vol. iii, pp. 537 ff.). The bequest to Boccaccio runs as follows:

'Iohanni de Certaldo seu Boccatio, verecunde admodum tanto viro tam modicum, lego quinquaginta florenos auri de Florentia pro una veste hiemali ad studium lucubrationesque nocturnas.'

[2] 'Tres fere dies totos, paucis interpositis horis ad restaurandas parumper fessi corporis vires, in scribendo hanc brevem epistolam consumpsi.'

[3] The date of Boccaccio's death is given by Coluccio Salutati in his letter from Florence to Francescuolo da Brossano, written three days after the event. (See *Epistolario di Coluccio Salutati*, ed. Novati, vol. i, p. 225.)

Comento,[1] which in some MSS. is attributed to him, was accepted as his composition by the Academicians of the Crusca in the first edition (1612) of their *Vocabolario*, as well as in the two subsequent editions (1623 and 1691),[2] and also by several scholars in the eighteenth century, among whom was Mazzucchelli. It has been proved, however, by internal evidence, that this commentary cannot have been written by Boccaccio[3]; and, further, we have documentary evidence to prove that Boccaccio left no more than the fragment which has come down to us. It so happens that after Boccaccio's death a dispute arose between two of his legatees as to the possession of the MS. of his *Comento*. By his will Boccaccio left the whole of his disposable property, with the exception of his library and a few specific bequests, to the children of his brother Jacopo Boccaccio, who was appointed one of the executors of the will. His library Boccaccio left to his confessor, Fra Martino da Signa, an Augustinian monk of the convent of Santo Spirito in Florence, on condition that after Fra Martino's death the books should become the property of the convent, to be there preserved in perpetuity for the use of the community.[4] When Boccaccio died, Fra Martino claimed the MS. of the *Comento* as part of the library. Jacopo, on the other hand, claimed it, on behalf of his children, as part and parcel of his brother's bequest to them. As the disputants could not come to an agreement, the matter was referred to

[1] This commentary, which is commonly known as *Il Falso Boccaccio*, was printed by Lord Vernon at Florence in 1846, under the title *Chiose sopra Dante*.

[2] See the *Lezione* of Luigi Rigoli prefixed to Lord Vernon's edition (pp. 12–14).

[3] See the *Lezione* of Rigoli already referred to.

[4] Boccaccio's will is printed by Corazzini (*op. cit*, pp. 425 ff.). The bequest of his library is in the following terms:

'Item reliquit venerabili fratri Martino de Signa, Magistro in sacra theologia, conventus Sancti Spiritus Ordinis heremitarum Sancti Augustini, omnes suos libros, excepto Breviario dicti testatoris, cum ista condictione, quod dictus Magister Martinus possit uti dictis libris, et de eis exhibere copiam cui voluerit, donec vixerit, ad hoc ut ipse teneatur rogare Deum pro anima dicti testatoris, et tempore suae mortis debeat consignare dictos libros conventui fratrum Sancti Spiritus, sine aliqua diminutione, et debeant micti in quodam armario dicti loci et ibidem debeant perpetuo remanere ad hoc ut quilibet de dicto conventu possit legere et studere super dictis libris, et ibi scribi facere modum et formam presentis testamenti et facere inventarium de dictis libris.'

the Consoli dell' Arte del Cambio, to whom the claims of the two parties were submitted in writing. Fra Martino, it appears, was willing, if the decision was in his favour, to allow Jacopo to have the MS., a sheet at a time, for the purpose of taking a copy of it, on the understanding that if the decision was in Jacopo's favour, the like facility should be granted to himself. This offer, however, appears to have been ignored by Jacopo, who claimed the MS. outright. In the particulars of Jacopo's claim is set down a detailed description of the MS. in question, which he valued at the lowest at eighteen gold florins. In this description it is stated in the clearest possible terms that the commentary was left incomplete by Boccaccio, and only comprised sixteen cantos of the *Commedia* and part of the seventeenth.

'Dinanzi a voi domando,' runs Jacopo's claim, 'ventiquattro quaderni, e quattordici quadernucci, tutti in carta di bambágia, non legati insieme, ma l' uno dall' altro diviso, d' uno iscritto, o vero isposizione sopra sedici Capitoli. e parte del diciassettesimo del Dante, il quale scritto il detto Messer Giovanni di Boccaccio non compiè. . . .'

In the event, though that does not concern us here, it was adjudged by the Consoli that the MS. should be handed over to Jacopo and his co-executors, as forming part of Boccaccio's bequest to his brother's children.[1] Although, as we have seen, the fact that Boccaccio's commentary was incomplete was unknown to the Academicians of the Crusca at the beginning of the seventeenth century,[2] yet this fact had been mentioned by Landino in 1481 in the *Proemio* to his *Espositione* of the *Commedia* ('Comentarono il nostro Poeta due suoi figliuoli, Francesco e Pietro, . . . Principiò di comentarlo il nostro Giovanni Boccaccio, ma non condusse l' opera più avanti che a mezzo la prima cantica'), and had been publicly remarked upon by Giovan Batista Gelli, in two of his lectures before the Florentine Academy, in 1553 and 1561. The learned Florentine hosier, who was well acquainted with Boccaccio's *Comento*, and utilized it in his own *Letture sopra*

[1] The documents relating to this dispute are printed by Manni (*op. cit.*, pp. 104-6).

[2] See above, p. 61.

la Commedia di Dante, says, after quoting Boccaccio's note upon *Inferno* xvi. 73–5: 'E questo dice il Boccaccio; il quale non si truova, per essersi interposta a tal cosa la morte, che sia passato con la espositione sua questo luogo.'[1] And even before this the fact had been stated by Giuseppe Betussi in the life of Boccaccio prefixed to his translation of the *De Genealogia Deorum*, which was first published in 1547. After giving a list of Boccaccio's works in the vulgar tongue, he adds: 'incominciò a commentare Latinamente la comedia di Dante, cioè una parte dell' Inferno[2]—which means, not as might appear at first sight, that Boccaccio wrote his commentary in Latin, but that he wrote it in plain language, that it was, in fact, of a popular character.

By the commentators who followed after Boccaccio his *Comento* was largely, one might almost say in some cases shamelessly, exploited. The Anonimo Fiorentino, for instance, whose commentary was probably written about thirty years after Boccaccio's death,[3] borrowed wholesale from it, without once so much as mentioning Boccaccio's name. So far, indeed, was he from acknowledging his indebtedness, that in one case he actually indicates a false source for the information he has conveyed from Boccaccio.[4] Some idea of the nature of the Anonimo's borrowings may be gathered from the fact that the first three or four pages of the introductory portion of his commentary are almost entirely made up of excerpts from Boccaccio[5]; while the opening

[1] *Lettura Settima* (1561), *Lezione Seconda*; ed. Negroni, vol. ii, p. 112. Also in his *Lettura Prima* (1553), *Lezione Prima* (vol. i, p. 24), he says: 'Commentò il Boccaccio alcuni capitoli della prima cantica'.

[2] *Geneologia de gli Dei, I Quindeci Libri di M. Giovanni Boccaccio . . . tradotti et per adornati Messer Giuseppe Betussi da Bassano. Aggiuntavi la Vita del Boccaccio.* In Vinegia, MDXLVII.

[3] The MS. from which Fanfani printed his edition of the commentary (Bologna, 1866–74, 3 vols.) professes to have been written in 1343, that is, thirty years before Boccaccio began his lectures in Florence. This date, which appears to have been added by a later hand, is obviously incorrect. The commentary is now usually assigned to the end of the fourteenth century or the beginning of the fifteenth. See Hegel, *Über den historischen Wert der älteren Dante-Commentare*, p. 59.

[4] See below, p. 64; and Hegel, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

[5] Anon. Fior. i. 6–9: Bocc. i. 102, 97, 98, 92, 98–101, 84.

paragraph of the commentary proper is copied word for word from that of Boccaccio.[1] To give a detailed list of the passages thus appropriated would be beyond the scope of the present paper, but it may be of interest to draw attention to a few of the most noteworthy of them. The identification of Beatrice with the daughter of Folco Portinari and wife of Simone de' Bardi[2]; the allegory of the three ladies in the second canto[3]; the account of Celestine V[4]; the story of Paolo and Francesca[5]; the story of the lost cantos of the *Commedia*, which is told à propos of the opening words, 'Io dico seguitando', of the eighth canto of the *Inferno*[6]; the accounts of the Furies[7], of the Fates[8], of the valley of Jehoshaphat[9], of the infernal rivers[10], and so on—all these are conveyed, without acknowledgement, from the *Comento* of Boccaccio, as are a large number of the etymologies given by the Anonimo.[11] For his account of the origin of the Guelfs and Ghibellines the Anonimo refers to 'certe cronache tedesche', which is a mere blind, inasmuch as the whole of it is taken direct from Boccaccio.[12]

[1] Anon. Fior. i. 12 : Bocc. i. 104.
[2] Anon. Fior. i. 42 : Bocc. i. 224.
[3] Anon. Fior. i. 44 : Bocc. i. 247.
[4] Anon. Fior. i. 69 : Bocc. i. 265 ff.
[5] Anon. Fior. i. 155 : Bocc. i. 476 ff.
[6] Anon. Fior. i. 204 ff. : Bocc. ii. 130 ff.
[7] Anon. Fior. i. 220 ff. : Bocc. ii. 195 ff.
[8] Anon. Fior. i. 232 ff. : Bocc. ii. 177.
[9] Anon. Fior. i. 243–4 : Bocc. ii. 214.
[10] Anon. Fior. i. 339–40 : Bocc. ii. 400.
[11] The following may be quoted as instances. viz. *patriarca* (i. 101) ; *amazone* (i. 114) ; *Achille* (i. 152) ; *lugere*, *plorare*, *ululare*, &c. (i. 207–8) ; *Atropos* (i. 232) ; *arca*, *monimentum*, *sepulchrum*, &c. (i. 235) ; *calle* (i. 243) ; *cimitero* (i. 244) ; *arpia* (i. 316–17) ; *sentiero* (i. 318) ; *rigagno* (i. 347) ; &c., &c.
[12] Anon. Fior. i. 247 ff. : Bocc. ii. 225 ff. (see above, p. 63). Other passages in which the Anonimo has borrowed from Boccaccio (some of which are noted by Hegel. *op. cit.*) are the accounts of Achilles (Anon. Fior. i. 152 : Bocc. i. 467–8) ; of the various kinds of tombs (A. F. i. 235 ff. : Bocc. ii. 188–9) ; of Pier delle Vigne (A. F. i. 323 : Bocc. ii. 335) ; of Brunetto Latino (A. F. i. 354 : Bocc. ii. 406) ; of Priscian (A. F. i. 361 : Bocc. ii. 420) ; of Gualdrada (in part) (A. F. i. 373–4 : Bocc. ii. 435) ; of Forlì (A. F. i. 378 : Bocc. ii. 450) ; of San Benedetto in Alpe (A. F. i. 378 : Bocc. ii. 451) ; and the notes, among others, on *note* (A. F. i. 379 : Bocc. ii. 453) ; and on the diver (A. F. i. 379–80 : Bocc. ii. 454) ; &c., &c.

Benvenuto da Imola, who, as has already been mentioned, attended some of Boccaccio's lectures on the *Commedia*, and the first draft of whose commentary was completed in 1373,[1] the year in which Boccaccio began his course, does not make so much use as might have been expected of the *Comento* of his 'venerabilis praeceptor'. He frequently quotes Boccaccio as his authority, but this is for the most part for information received from him by word of mouth.[2] Benvenuto was, however, certainly indebted to the *Comento* for some of his material—for his quotations from Tacitus,[3] for instance, as well as for certain of his references to Homer,[4] and to Pronapides.[5] He mentions Boccaccio's tirade against the gluttony of the Florentines, which occurs in the comment on the sixth canto of the *Inferno*[6]; and he reproduces, without acknowledgement, Boccaccio's account of the recovery of the lost cantos of the *Commedia*, already referred to[7]; and also his story of Gualdrada de' Ravignani and the Emperor Otto IV.[8]

Francesco da Buti, who lectured on the *Divina Commedia* at Pisa[9] about the year 1385, was acquainted with, and made use of, Boccaccio's *Comento*. He refers to it as his authority on three occasions,[10] but these by no means represent the whole extent of his indebtedness. Buti's commentary, to which he himself gave the title of *Lettura*, as having originally

[1] See my *Dante Studies and Researches*, p. 221.

[2] See my *Index of Authors quoted by Benevenuto da Imola in his Commentary on the Divina Commedia* (printed in *Report XIX of the Cambridge, U.S.A., Dante Society*), s. v. *Boccaccius*; also *Dante Studies and Researches*, pp. 232 ff., and p. 215, n. 4.

[3] See *Index of Authors quoted by Benevenuto*, s. v. *Tacitus*.

[4] See *Index of Authors quoted by Benevenuto*, s. v. *Homerus*; and *Dante Studies and Researches*, p. 214, n. 2.

[5] See *Index of Authors quoted by Benevenuto*, s. v. *Pronapides*.

[6] Benv. i. 227: Bocc. ii. 32 ff.

[7] Benv. i. 273–4: Bocc. ii. 131.

[8] Benv. i. 538: Bocc. ii. 435–6; Boccaccio tells this story (which he also includes in his *De Claris Mulieribus*, cap. ci) on the authority of Coppo di Borghese Domenichi. It is given by Villani, with some difference of detail, in his *Cronica*, v. 37.

[9] Pisa, following the example of Florence and Bologna, was the third city in Italy to institute public lectures on the *Divina Commedia*.

[10] *Commento di Francesco da Buti sopra la Divina Comedia* (Pisa, 1858–62), vol. i, pp. 7, 357, 367.

been composed in the form of lectures, was revised and prepared for publication at the instance of certain of his friends and admirers, as he tells us in his *Proemio*.[1] It was finally completed in 1395, just twenty years after Boccaccio's death.[2] Like the Anonimo Fiorentino, Buti has borrowed very freely from Boccaccio in his introductory chapter, five or six pages of which are conveyed direct from his predecessor's *Comento*,[3] including a formal recantation beforehand of any unorthodox or unacceptable opinions which might happen to have escaped him in the course of his lectures.[4] A considerable portion of Buti's commentary on the first canto of the *Inferno* is also taken from Boccaccio,[5] as are to some extent his accounts of the nine Muses,[6] of Pier delle Vigne,[7] of the statue of Mars at Florence,[8] of Chiarentana,[9] the 'giubbetto',[10] and so forth.[11] It is noteworthy that Buti does not repeat Boccaccio's story of the lost cantos, which is reproduced both by Benvenuto da Imola and by the Anonimo Fiorentino.

Of the fifteenth-century commentators only one, namely Landino, seems to have had any acquaintance with Boccaccio's *Comento*. Giovanni da Serravalle (1416–17) avowedly for the most part copies Benvenuto da Imola, as does Stefano Talice da Ricaldone (*c.* 1474)[12]; while Giuniforto delli Bargigi (*c.* 1440) chiefly follows the Pisan Buti.

Landino's commentary, which is the classical commentary of the Renaissance, and has been reprinted more often probably than any other, was first published in 1481, in the famous first Florentine edition of the *Divina Commedia*, with the designs of Sandro Botticelli.[13] Landino made considerable

[1] Vol. i, pp. 4-5.

[2] See the colophon, vol. iii, p. 871. A passage in the commentary on canto vi of the *Paradiso* was written in 1393; see vol. iii, p. 163.

[3] Buti, i. 5–11: Bocc. i. 81–3, 86–91. [4] Buti, i. 11: Bocc. i. 91.

[5] Buti, i. 14–15, 22–3, 27–8, 30, 32–3, 34, 38: Bocc. i. 154, 104–9, 112–14, 117.

[6] Buti, i. 59–60: Bocc. i. 205–7.

[7] Buti, i. 357: Bocc. ii. 335. [8] Buti, i. 367: Bocc. ii. 352–3.

[9] Buti, i. 404: Bocc. ii. 404. [10] Buti, i. 367: Bocc. ii. 357.

[11] Cf. also Buti, i. 60: Bocc. i. 209; Buti, i. 106: Bocc. i. 277–8; Buti, i. 140: Bocc i. 402.

[12] See M. Barbi's article in *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S. xv. 213 36.

[13] A copy of this edition, with the full complement (nineteen) of Botticelli's

use of the *Comento* of Boccaccio, whom he describes as 'huomo, et per dottrina, et per costumi. et per essere propinquo a' tempi di Dante, degno di fede'.[1] He quotes the *Comento* directly by name eight times,[2] and avails himself of it, without naming it, on numerous other occasions, chiefly for the explanation of contemporary and historical allusions. For instance, his notes on Ciacco, Filippo Argenti, Farinata degli Uberti, the Emperor Frederick II, 'il Cardinale', Azzolino, Pier delle Vigne, Gualdrada, Guidoguerra, Jacopo Rusticucci, Guglielmo Borsiere, are all reproduced more or less closely from Boccaccio[3]; to whom he was also indebted for much of his classical information, as in his accounts of Phlegyas, Medusa, Minos, the Minotaur, the Centaurs, &c.[4]

Alessandro Vellutello of Lucca, the first of the sixteenth-century commentators, whose 'nova espositione' was published at Venice in 1544, does not appear to have made any use whatever of Boccaccio's *Comento*. As is well known, he poured contempt on Boccaccio's *Vita di Dante*, as a mere romance 'tutta piena d' amorosi sospiri e lagrime',[5] and it is quite possible that he had an equally low opinion of the lectures on the *Commedia*.

Bernardino Daniello, likewise of Lucca, whose commentary was published posthumously at Venice in 1568, seems, like Vellutello, to have ignored Boccaccio altogether so far as his *Comento* is concerned.[6]

designs of the *Inferno*, was sold at the Carmichael sale at Sotheby's on March 24, 1903, for £1,000; and a copy at the Huth sale on June 11, 1912, for £1,800.

[1] Venice edition of 1578, fol. 48.

[2] Ed. 1578, foll. 38, 48 (three times), 50, 78, 85[1], 90.

[3] Ed. 1578, foll. 38, 50, 63, 63[1]-4, 72[1], 75[1], 88[1], 89.

[4] Ed. 1578, foll. 49, 55[1], 69, 71, &c. Other passages in which Landino has utilized Boccaccio are the comments on the statue of Mars, and Attila (fol. 77[1]), Chiarentana, Brunetto Latino (fol. 84), Priscian, Francesco d'Accorso (fol. 86[1]), Monte Veso (fol. 89[1]), and San Benedetto (fol. 90). The note on *lonza* (fol. 4), which ostensibly is from Boccaccio's *Comento*, in reality comes from Benvenuto da Imola (i. 35), to whom it was communicated by Boccaccio.

[5] See the opening sentence of the *Vita e Costumi del Poeta*, prefixed to Vellutello's commentary.

[6] Daniello frequently quotes the *Decameron* and other works of Boccaccio; see, for instance, pp. 2, 5, 23, 41, 43, 49, 56, 110, 427, &c., &c. The fact that Boccaccio's *Comento* had not yet been printed may perhaps help to account for

The Florentine Gelli,[1] on the other hand, who lectured on the *Divina Commedia* before the Florentine Academy at various times between 1541 and 1561, quotes Boccaccio's *Comento* in his *Letture*[2] more than sixty times—oftener than he quotes any other commentator, except Landino.[3] Unlike his predecessors, Gelli makes a point of always naming his authority. He introduces his quotations usually by some such formula as 'secondo che scrive il Boccaccio', or 'il Boccaccio dice', or 'così espone il Boccaccio'. Frequently he gives long extracts in Boccaccio's own words, 'le parole sue proprie'.[4] Although as a rule he quotes the *Comento* at first hand, on one occasion at least (for the story of the lost cantos) he takes his account at second hand from Landino.[5] He does not always accept Boccaccio's conclusions[6]; but, on the other hand, he more than once declares that Boccaccio has explained a particular passage so well that he cannot do better than repeat what he has said: 'Non saprei io per me trovarci miglior esposizione che quella del Boccaccio' (i. 295); again: 'Conoscendo di non poter far tal cosa meglio che si

its being ignored by Vellutello and Daniello. Gelli says (*Lettura Seconda, Lezione Decima*, vol. i, p. 295, ed. Negroni) that Vellutello follows Boccaccio in his interpretation of *Inferno* iv. 69, but there is nothing to show that he is following Boccaccio any more than one of the other commentators who give the same explanation. Cf. also Gelli, *Lettura Quinta, Lezione Sesta*, vol. i, p. 653, ed. Negroni.

[1] Gelli is best known perhaps as the author of *I Capricci del Bottaio*, which was translated into English by William Barker in 1568, under the title of *The Fearfull Fansies of the Florentine Couper*.

[2] In his various *Letture* (twelve in all) Gelli commented on *Inferno* i–xxv, and on portions of *Inferno* xxvi, *Purgatorio* xvi, xxvii, and *Paradiso* xxvi.

[3] That is to say so far as the first sixteen cantos of the *Inferno* are concerned, on which alone Boccaccio commented. Landino is quoted altogether about ninety times, Benvenuto da Imola about seventy, Vellutello about thirty, Pietro di Dante about twenty-five, Buti about a dozen, the Ottimo Comento and Jacopo della Lana, six each.

[4] Gelli, i. 329: Bocc. i. 444; Gelli, i. 672: Bocc. ii. 260; other instances of verbatim quotations are Gelli, i. 544: Bocc. ii. 163; Gelli, i. 610–11: Bocc. ii. 224; Gelli, i. 634: Bocc. ii. 245; Gelli, i. 653: Bocc. ii. 252–3; Gelli, ii. 6: Bocc. ii. 272; Gelli, ii. 41: Bocc. ii. 319; in this last passage Gelli's editor, Negroni, has attributed to Boccaccio a sentence which belongs to Gelli—the quotation marks should end at 'le mosche', not at 'tale ufizio'.

[5] Gelli, i. 471.

[6] See, for instance, i. 113, 382, 543, 609; ii 68–9.

facesse in questo luogo il Boccaccio, vi reciterò le parole sue proprie' (i. 329).

Gelli, in fact, was the first to appreciate the *Comento* at its true value. He realized that Boccaccio was in a position to know accurately the history of many of the people and incidents referred to by Dante[1]; and he recognized especially the importance of his interpretations of antiquated and obscure words and phrases.[2] But at the same time he was critic enough to perceive that Boccaccio's information was not always to be accepted without examination. He distrusts, for instance, his explanation of the tides[3]; while of his account of the origin of the Guelfs and Ghibellines he says roundly 'non può esser in modo alcuno vera'.[4]

Considering the high reputation which Boccaccio's *Comento* enjoyed from the very first, down to the middle of the sixteenth century (as is evidenced by the manner in which, as we have seen, it was utilized successively by Benvenuto da Imola, Francesco da Buti, the Anonimo Fiorentino, Landino, and Gelli), it is somewhat remarkable that there should be only four MSS. of it in existence. Of Boccaccio's own MS., which gave rise to the dispute referred to above,[5] every trace apparently has now been lost. Of the four existing MSS., all of which are preserved in Florence—three in the Magliabechiana, one in the Riccardiana—none claims to date earlier than the fifteenth century. Even of these only three are complete, the whole of the first portion of the fourth MS., as far as the beginning of the commentary on the fifth canto, having disappeared.[6]

It is also remarkable, and not altogether to the credit of

[1] See, for instance, i. 383, where he gives an account of Ciacco, 'Secondo che racconta il Boccaccio, che fu tanto vicino a' tempi suoi, ch' ei potevano essere ancor vivi di quegli che lo avevano conosciuto'.

[2] For example, *adonare* (Gelli, i. 379); *agognare* (i. 376); *a pruovo* (ii. 17); *brollo* (ii. 105); *bufera* (i. 329); *gentile* (i. 349); *lai* (i. 334); *putto* (ii. 34); *rabbuffare* (i. 423); *roste* (ii. 41); *stipa* (i. 634); *strozza* (i. 466); *tenzonare* (i. 532).

[3] Gelli, ii. 68-9.

[4] Gelli, i. 609.

[5] See above, pp. 61-2.

[6] See Milanesi's edition of the *Comento*, vol. i, p. v.

the Florentines, that the lectures in which their forefathers showed such keen interest should have been left unpublished for more than two centuries and a half after the invention of printing. Only four editions of the *Comento* have been printed.[1] The *editio princeps* was issued at Naples (with the false imprint of Florence) in 1724, in two volumes 8vo, which form the fifth and sixth volumes of the collection of *Opere Volgari in Prosa del Boccaccio* published by Lorenzo Ciccarelli.[2] This edition, which was printed from a single (and, as it was then thought, unique) MS., in spite of its once high reputation, is of very little critical value, owing to the serious errors of transcription and of the press with which it abounds.[3] At the end of the second volume are appended the *Annotazioni* of Anton Maria Salvini, to whose exertions it was largely due that the *Comento* was at last printed with Boccaccio's other works.

More than a hundred years later, in 1831–2, a second edition, based upon the same single MS., was published at Florence, by Ignazio Moutier, in three volumes 8vo, which form volumes x–xii of his collected edition of the *Opere Volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio.* Moutier claims to have corrected several hundreds of errors and omissions in the text of the *editio princeps*,[4] but his own, though undoubtedly a great advance upon that of his predecessor, is still far from being perfect, chiefly owing to the fact that the single MS. upon which he had to rely is itself not by any means free from errors.[5]

In 1844 Fraticelli published an edition at Florence—the third—in three diminutive volumes in a popular series. The text of this edition has no independent value whatever, being avowedly no more than a cheap reprint of that of Moutier.

About twenty years later the first attempt at anything like a critical text was made by Gaetano Milanesi, whose edition

[1] Since this was written a fifth edition has been published by Domenico Guerri, in *Scrittori d' Italia* (84-6), Bari, 1918. (See *Bull. Soc. Dant. Ital.*, N.S. xxvi. 185-8.)

[2] Ciccarelli anagrammatized his name into Cellenio Zacclori, under which form his signature is appended to the dedication of the edition.

[3] See Moutier's remarks, and the list of *errata* given by him, on pp. vi–xvi of vol. i of his edition.

[4] *Op. cit.*, vol. i, p. vi.

[5] See Milanesi, *op. cit.*, i. v.

in two volumes was published at Florence by Le Monnier in 1863. Milanesi had the advantage over previous editors in that three more MSS. of the *Comento* had been discovered since their editions were published. By the aid of these MSS. he was enabled to produce a greatly improved text, but, as he himself admits in his *Avvertimento*, there are still many passages in which the reading is obviously more or less corrupt.[1]

Milanesi was the first to divide the *Comento* into *Lezioni*, a convenient arrangement which is found in two out of the four MSS., including the one made use of by Ciccarelli and by Moutier,[2] though they for some reason or other chose to ignore it. It is doubtful how far these *Lezioni*, which are sixty in number, represent so many actual lectures delivered by Boccaccio; for not only are they entirely devoid of any of the conventional formulae which a speaker addressing a public audience naturally employs when breaking off or resuming his discourse, but they also vary very greatly in length. The shortest of them, for instance, the forty-third, occupies only four pages in Milanesi's edition, while the longest, the eighteenth, fills no less than forty[3]—a disproportion which would hardly be tolerable in the case of actual lectures.

It may be noted here that in no part of the *Comento*, as it has come down to us, is there much trace of the peculiar conditions under which it was composed. Boccaccio did not readily, it seems, exchange the rôle of author for that of professor. If it were not for a single passage at the beginning of his opening lecture, in which he directly addresses his audience as 'Voi, signori fiorentini',[4] it would be difficult to gather from the work itself that it was composed originally for public delivery.[5] That the lectures were carefully thought

[1] See Milanesi, *op. cit.*, i. vi.

[2] See Milanesi, *loc. cit.*

[3] Milanesi, ii. 266-70; and i. 427-67.

[4] Milanesi, i. 81.

[5] It is significant that Boccaccio not infrequently uses *scrivere* instead of *parlare* in speaking of his lectures. For instance, in *Lez.* 2: 'Perciocchè d' essa si tratterà nel xx canto di questo pienamente, qui non curo di più scriverne' (i. 120): again, in *Lez.* 20: 'Quantunque questa materia d' amore venga pienamente a dovere essere trattata nel secondo libro di questo volume, nel

out and prepared beforehand is evident, not only from the plan of the work, but also from the many cases in which points are reserved for future discussion. For example, at the mention of Mantua in his second *Lezione* Boccaccio says: 'd' essa si tratterà nel ventesimo canto di questo pienamente'; and of Dardanus in the fourth: 'del quale più distesamente diremo appresso nel quarto canto'; and so on.[1] In like manner he several times refers forward to the commentary on the *Purgatorio*,[2] and to that on the *Paradiso*,[3] both of which, it is clear, were already to some extent planned, though, as we know, neither of them was actually begun. In one instance a memorandum has been preserved, in the text, of a passage which was to be further elaborated, but which was eventually left unaltered.[4]

The plan of Boccaccio's commentary was obviously borrowed from Dante himself. Just as Dante in the *Convivio* divides and subdivides each of his canzoni into principal and secondary parts,[5] and expounds in turn first the *litterale sentenza* and then the *allegoria* of each of the poems under discussion[6]; so, in the case of the *Commedia*, Boccaccio divides and subdivides the poem and its parts,[7] and then proceeds to give first the literal and afterwards the allegorical exposition of each canto.[8]

Boccaccio opens his first lecture with a modest reference to his own insufficiency for the task which has been laid upon him; and he throws in an adroit compliment to his audience,

canto xvii; nondimeno . . . alcuna cosa qui ne scriverò' (i. 480); and in *Lez.* 52: 'Perciocchè di Catone pienamente si scriverà nel primo canto del Purgatorio, qui a più dirne non mi distendo' (ii. 366).

[1] Milanesi, i. 120 and 143; for other references in the case of the *Inferno*, see i. 442; ii. 25, 170, 389, 429, 455-6.

[2] Five times; see i. 480; ii. 6, 46, 57, 366.

[3] Three times; see ii. 57, 177, 224.

[4] See i. 465: '(Qui del modo del vegghiare, e come di qua il recarono i Marsiliesi, e donde vennero le vigilie).'

[5] Cf. *Convivio* ii. 2, ll. 58 ff.; 8, ll. 6 ff.; iii. 1, ll. 100 ff.; 2, ll. 1 ff., &c., &c.

[6] Cf. *Convivio* ii. 1, ll. 119 ff.: 'Io adunque . . . sopra ciascuna canzone ragionerò prima la litterale sentenza, e appresso di quella ragionerò la sua allegoria.'

[7] Cf. *Comento* i. 103.

[8] Cf. *Comento* i. 106.

whom he describes as 'uomini d' alto intendimento e di mirabile perspicacità, come universalmente solete esser voi, signori fiorentini'.[1] After quoting (through the medium of Chalcidius[2]) what Plato says in the *Timaeus* as to the propriety of calling upon the deity before entering upon any serious undertaking, he proceeds to invoke the divine aid on his own behalf. This he does, not in scriptural phrase, nor in any form of Christian prayer, but, strangely enough, in the words of Anchises in the second book of the *Aeneid*:

> Iuppiter omnipotens, precibus si flecteris ullis,
> Aspice nos: hoc tantum: et, si pietate meremur,
> Da deinde auxilium, pater![3]

Boccaccio's excuse for this extraordinary combination of piety and paganism is that as the matter of which he is about to treat is of a poetical nature, so it is appropriate that his invocation of God's aid should be in poetical form.

He then goes on to examine into the three points which he says it is customary to determine with regard to every learned work, namely of what sort and how many are the causes of it, what is its title, and to what department of philosophy it belongs. In his determination of these questions Boccaccio quotes freely, though without mentioning it by name, from the so-called dedicatory letter of Dante to Can Grande della Scala,[4] as to the authenticity of which there is a wide difference of opinion among Dantists.[5]

In discussing the title of the work Boccaccio has some interesting remarks as to the inappropriateness, to his thinking, of the term *Comedy* applied by Dante to his poem. Comedy, he says, as everybody knows, deals with low subjects and with

[1] *Comento* i. 81.

[2] Boccaccio does not mention Chalcidius, but the passage he quotes is from the version of Chalcidius, in which form the *Timaeus* was familiar to mediaeval students before the revival of Greek letters. Boccaccio's quotation, as printed, differs from the received text of the passage in Chalcidius, in reading *hominibus mos est* for *omnibus*; and *raptemur* (altered by Milanesi into *rapiemur*) for *raptamur*.

[3] *Aeneid* ii. 689-91.

[4] Compare *Comento* i. 82-5 with *Epist.* x, §§ 8, 9, 15, 10.

[5] On the whole question, see the article by Dr. Moore, in his *Studies in Dante*, iii. 284-369, where the authenticity of the letter is strongly upheld.

persons of low degree; whereas Dante's poem treats of persons of eminence, and of singular and notable deeds both wicked and virtuous, as well as of the effects of penitence, the ways of the angels, and the essence of the Deity. The style of Comedy, again, is humble and low, as befits the subject-matter; whereas the style of the poem is ornate and sublime, notwithstanding it is written in the vulgar tongue, while if Dante had written it in Latin it would have been still more sublime and dignified.[1]

Dante's name, which he discusses in connexion with the title of the poem, Boccaccio takes to be, not an abbreviated form of Durante, as it is now commonly explained, but a term significant of the poet's bounty—Dante, the giver—in placing the treasures of his mind freely at the disposal of all who may be inclined to partake of them. He insists that Dante introduces his own name, not once, but twice into the *Commedia*[2]; firstly, by the mouth of Beatrice in the well-known passage in the thirtieth canto of the *Purgatorio*[3]; secondly, by the mouth of Adam in the twenty-sixth canto of the *Paradiso*.[4] With regard to the latter passage, he argues that it was especially appropriate for Dante to be named by Adam, to whom God assigned the task of naming all created things. The majority of commentators, however, differ from Boccaccio on this point, holding that *Da te*, not *Dante*, is the correct reading of the line in question.

After deciding that the *Commedia* comes under the head of moral philosophy, Boccaccio proposes to deal with the subject of Hell. But before entering upon this part of his task, he once more apologizes for the feebleness of his powers; and, further, in case he shall be betrayed through ignorance or inadvertency into saying anything that may be contrary to the catholic faith, he then and there formally recants and abjures the same beforehand, and humbly submits himself in respect thereof to the correction of Holy Church.[5]

Having thus discounted the possibility of ecclesiastical

[1] *Comento* i. 84–5.
[2] *Comento* i 90–1.
[3] *Purg.* xxx. 55.
[4] *Par.* xxvi. 103 ff.
[5] *Comento* i. 91.

censure, Boccaccio launches out into a lengthy disquisition upon the matter in hand, namely Hell—whether there be a Hell, whether there be more than one, in what part of the world it is situated, from what point it is approached, what is its shape and dimension, what purpose it serves, and lastly, whether it is called by any name other than *Infernus*. To the discussion of these points he devotes what amounts to some ten printed pages in Milanesi's edition of the commentary,[1] at least half of the matter being translated word for word from a previous work of his own, the *De Genealogia Deorum*—a practice in which, as will be shown later, Boccaccio indulged to an extent hitherto quite unsuspected.[2]

The subject of Hell being disposed of, there yet remains, before we arrive at the commentary proper, the question why Dante wrote his poem in the vulgar tongue instead of in Latin. This question, says Boccaccio, much exercised the *literati* of the day. They could not understand how a man of deep learning like Dante could bring himself to compose such an important work in the *volgare*. Boccaccio's explanation, which is practically identical with what he had already said in his *Vita di Dante*,[3] is as follows: 'Dante was certainly a very learned man, especially in poetry, and desirous of fame, as most of us are. He began his poem in Latin, thus:

> Ultima regna canam, fluido contermina mundo,
> Spiritibus quae lata patent, quae praemia solvunt
> Pro meritis cuicumque suis, etc.

But when he had made some progress with it in this fashion he decided to change his style. For he saw that liberal and philosophical studies were altogether abandoned by the princes and great men who used to honour and render famous poets and their works. And he reflected that if Virgil and the other Latins were almost entirely neglected, he could not expect a better fate for his own work. He therefore made up his mind to suit his poem, at least so far as concerned its outside form, to the understandings of the present generation, who, if by chance they wish to see any book, and it happens

[1] *Comento* i. 92 ff.
[2] See below, p. 78.
[3] Ed. Milanesi, pp. 64–5.

to be written in Latin, straightway have it translated into the vernacular. From which he concluded that if his poem were written in the vulgar tongue it might meet with favour; whereas if it were in Latin it would be cold-shouldered. So abandoning his Latin lines he wrote the *Commedia* in vernacular rhymes, as we see.'[1]

Boccaccio now at last, after this lengthy prologue, enters upon the subject proper of his *lezioni*, namely the systematic exposition of the letter and the allegory of Dante's poem. His commentary, like most of the early commentaries, is of very unequal value. Some of the information supplied is of the most elementary, not to say childish, description; while, on the other hand, a large portion of the work displays real erudition and scholarship, and is the outcome of considerable research. This curious mixture of learning and simplicity makes one wonder for what sort of audience Boccaccio's lectures were intended. In the terms of the petition the lecturer was to expound the *Commedia* for the benefit of 'etiam non grammatici'.[2] But it is difficult to conceive that any audience of Florentines, even of Florentine children, however ignorant of Latin, let alone the 'uomini d' alto intendimento e di mirabile perspicacità', to whom Boccaccio refers in such flattering terms in his opening lecture,[3] could require to be informed, as Boccaccio carefully informs them, that an oar, for instance, is 'a long thick piece of wood, with which the boatman propels his boat, and guides and directs it from one place to another'[4]; or that an anchor is 'an instrument of iron, which has at one end several grapples, and at the other a ring by which it is attached to a rope whereby it is let down to the bottom of the sea'[5]; or that 'every ship has three principal parts, of which one is called the bows, which is sharp and narrow, because it is in front and has to cut the water; the second is called the poop, and is behind, where the steersman stands to work the tiller, by means of which, according as it is moved to one side or the other, the ship is

[1] *Comento* i. 102-3.
[2] See above, p. 54, note 1.
[3] *Comento* i. 81.
[4] *Comento* i. 286.
[5] *Comento* ii. 454.

made to go where the steersman wishes; while the third part is called the keel, which is the bottom of the ship, and lies between the bows and the stern'[1]; and so on. Boccaccio, however, seems to have acted on the principle that it is the business of an expositor to expound, and consequently he lets his audience off nothing—not even the familiar Bible stories of Adam and Eve, Cain and Abel, Noah and the Ark, Pharaoh's daughter and Moses, and such like.[2] In fact, like certain modern editors, he is determined to empty his note-books, whether the information is wanted or no. For example, at the first mention of Aeneas he says, 'Although most people know well enough who Aeneas was, nevertheless I shall speak of him at length when we come to the fourth canto of this book'[3]—a promise, it is hardly necessary to say, which is amply fulfilled.[4]

Some not too friendly critic appears to have reproached Boccaccio for lecturing on the *Commedia* in this way to the vulgar herd, declaring that it was a degradation of Dante's lofty genius to endeavour to bring it down to the level of the lay comprehension. Boccaccio replied to these strictures in a sonnet, in which he practically pleads guilty; but he urges in extenuation that he was induced to undertake the task not only by the advice of his friends, ill-judged though it may have been; but also under the pressure of the 'res angusta domi', which made the salary attached to the lectureship an important consideration.[5] In another sonnet, written apparently about the same time, he complains bitterly that if he has done wrong in revealing to the 'profanum vulgus' the secrets of the Muses, he has at any rate paid dearly for his misdemeanour, inasmuch as Apollo has taken cruel vengeance upon his unfortunate body, not a limb of which but is ailing in consequence.[6]

It was no doubt partly this failing of his health and energies which led Boccaccio to eke out his commentary with copious

[1] *Comento* ii. 139.
[2] *Comento* i. 304 ff.
[3] *Comento* i. 218.
[4] *Comento* i. 347-50.
[5] *Opere*, ed. Moutier, vol. xvi, son. viii.
[6] *Opere*, ed. Moutier, vol. xvi, son. vii.

extracts from previous writings of his own—an expedient to which reference has already been made.[1] The works which he has laid under contribution in this way are the *De Casibus Virorum Illustrium*,[2] the *De Claris Mulieribus*,[3] the *De Montibus, Sylvis, Lacubus, etc.*,[4] and the *De Genealogia Deorum*. From the last of these, which was completed in the same year in which his lectures were begun, he has borrowed something like a ninth part of the material of the *Comento*, amounting to more than a hundred printed pages in Milanesi's edition.[5] It is characteristic of the literary methods of the day that Boccaccio does not once refer to any one of these books by name, nor does he anywhere hint that he is making use of old material.

To make even a rapid survey of the numerous other authorities, classical and mediaeval, quoted by Boccaccio in the course of his *Comento*, would be beyond the scope of the present paper.[6] One or two points, however, may be touched upon in this connexion which are of especial interest from the humanistic point of view. Boccaccio's references to two particular authors entitle his commentary to an important place in the history of letters to which, merely as a commentary on the *Divina Commedia*, it could never have aspired.

[1] See above, p. 75.

[2] *Comento* i. 177 (for Sardanapalus), 180 (Jugurtha, Antiochus), 362 (Tarquinius Superbus), 435 (Minos); ii. 18 (Simonides, Astyages), 36 (Xerxes), 65 (Croesus).

[3] *Comento* i. 143–4 (for Camilla), 214 (Ilia), 359 (Penthesilea), 361 (Lavinia), 362 (Lucretia), 367 (Julia), 437 (Europa), 448–51 (Semiramis), 451–6 (Dido), 457–62 (Cleopatra), 63–6 (Helen), 498 (Zenobia); ii. 190 (Artemisia), 435 (Gualdrada).

[4] *Comento* i. 479 (for Po); ii. 51 ('faro di Messina'), 149 ('lago'), 184 (Rhone), 220 ('Tireno'), 368 ('Abila e Setta'), 385 ('stagno'), 448 9 (Monte Veso, Appennino).

[5] *Comento* i. 92–5, 99–101, 123–6, 128–35, 198, 201–8, 211, 214–5, 225–9, 259, 270–1, 272, 284–5, 293, 296, 322–3, 342–50, 359–61, 390–4, 433–8, 442, 451, 467–73, 480–2, 495; ii. 3, 41, 47–8, 72, 75–8, 83–90, 136–8, 170–1, 177–82, 195–202, 203–6, 268–9, 273–4, 283–6, 308–9, 314, 315, 318–22, 327, 328, 337, 392, 393, 399–400, 427.

[6] This branch of the subject is dealt with in detail in my *Index of Authors quoted by Boccaccio in his Comento sopra la Commedia*, printed in *Studii su Giovanni Boccaccio : per il sesto centenario della nascita di Giovanni Boccaccio*. Castelfiorentino, 1913 (pp. 142–74).

In this work and in the *De Genealogia Deorum* occur for the first time in mediaeval literature quotations from the works of Tacitus, and from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of Homer. The story of how Boccaccio came to have access to Homer through the medium of a Latin translation, and of how this translation came to be made, has already been told elsewhere.[1] Boccaccio's quotations from Homer in the *Comento* are six in number—four from the *Iliad*,[2] and two from the *Odyssey*[3]—one being a verbatim quotation from the Latin translation just mentioned,[4] of which the original MS. is now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris.[5] Previous to the making of this translation Homer had only been accessible to mediaeval writers, as to Dante, for instance, in the miserable compendium of the *Iliad* in Latin hexameters known as *Pindarus Thebanus*; or in such meagre quotations as could be found in the Latin translations of Aristotle, or in the works of Cicero.[6]

Tacitus was known by name to several mediaeval writers before the time of Boccaccio. He is mentioned, for instance, by John of Salisbury (d. 1180) in the *Policraticus* (viii. 18), as well as by Peter of Blois (d. 1200) and Vincent of Beauvais (d. 1264).[7]

[1] 'Homer in Dante and in Benvenuto da Imola,' in my *Dante Studies and Researches*, pp. 204 ff.

[2] *Comento* i. 347, 462, 467, 511.

[3] *Comento* i. 97, 466.

[4] *Comento* i. 511; the passage (from *Iliad* xiv. 214-17), as printed by Milanesi, runs as follows: 'Et a pectoribus solvit ceston cingulum varium. ubi sibi voluptaria omnia ordinata erant, ubi inerat amicitia, atque cupido, atque facundia, blanditiae quae furant intellectum, studiose licet scientium etc.' For *furant* (an impossible reading) Ciccarelli and Moutier read *furatae*. In the MS. of the translation in the Bibliothèque Nationale (MS. Lat. 7881), which originally belonged to Petrarch and was executed for him, the passage runs as follows: 'Et a pectoribus solvit ceston cingulum varium, ubi sibi voluntaria omnia facta erant, Ubi certe amicitia atque cupido atque collocutio Blanditiaeque furate sunt sensum studiose set scientium.' This same passage is quoted by Boccaccio, together with the original Greek, in the third book of his *De Genealogia Deorum*, where the text of the translation agrees neither with that of the *Comento* nor that of the MS.: 'Et a pectoribus solvit ceston cingulum vanum, ubi sibi voluntaria omnia ordinata erant, ubi certe amicitia atque cupido atque facundia, blanditiaeque furate mentem licet studiose scientium' (ed. 1532, p. 71).

[5] See previous note.

[6] See my *Dante Studies and Researches*, pp. 204-5.

[7] See Hortis, *Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, p. 425.

But to Boccaccio belongs the distinction of being the first author of modern times to show any actual acquaintance with his works.[1] In what way the works of Tacitus came into the hands of Boccaccio is a matter of conjecture. That he had in his possession a copy of some portion of them is certain; for in a letter written by him from Naples in January 1371, to Niccolò da Montefalcone, he urgently entreats his correspondent to return to him, for fear of its getting further damaged, his MS. of Tacitus, which Niccolò had taken away: 'Quaternum quem asportasti Cornelii Taciti queso saltem mittas ne laborem meum frustraveris et libro deformitatem ampliorem addideris.'[2] From the expression 'ne laborem meum frustraveris' it has been concluded that this MS. was a copy, which Boccaccio had made with his own hands. But the fact that he refers to the MS. as being already damaged, points rather to its being an ancient MS. Hortis[3] plausibly conjectures that Boccaccio may have managed to secure possession of this MS. when he paid his famous visit to the monastery of Monte Cassino, of which he gave the well-known account recorded by Benvenuto da Imola. It will be remembered that he found the library quite unprotected, and the books lying about in a state of utter neglect.[4] The MS. of Tacitus, now preserved in the Laurentian Library at Florence, belonged originally to Monte Cassino, and it is not at all improbable that it was Boccaccio who rescued it from the careless keeping of the unworthy Benedictine monks.

Boccaccio seems to have been acquainted with the twelfth to the sixteenth books of the *Annals*, and the second and third books of the *Histories*. In his *Comento* he utilizes chapters 56–7 and 69–70 of the fifteenth book of the *Annals* for his account

[1] St. Jerome mentions the works of Tacitus; and a monk of Fulda in the ninth century, one Ruodolphus, quotes a passage which has been identified in the *Annals*; but from that time until he was brought to light again by Boccaccio, Tacitus seems to have been entirely lost sight of.

[2] This letter is printed, in a corrupt form, by Corazzini in his *Lettere di M. Giovanni Boccaccio* (p. 259). The corrections in the passage quoted in the text are due to Hortis (*Opere Latine del Boccaccio*, p. 425, n. 4).

[3] Hortis, *loc. cit.*

[4] See my *Dante Studies and Researches*, pp. 233–4.

of the death of Lucan, 'secondochè Cornelio Tacito scrive'[1]; and books twelve to fifteen of the same work, for his account of the career and death of Seneca, his indebtedness in this latter instance amounting to five and a half printed pages in Milanesi's edition.[2] It may be noted that Boccaccio nowhere employs the title *Annals*, with which we are familiar, but uses the term *Storie*—'secondochè scrive Cornelio Tacito nel decimo quinto libro delle sue Storie'—even when he is actually quoting from the *Annals*.[3] It is hardly necessary to add that the fact of Boccaccio's having been acquainted with at least five books of the *Annals* of Tacitus effectually disposes of the theory, put forward some thirty years ago, that the *Annals* were forged in Italy in the fifteenth century by Poggio Bracciolini.[4] Of the *Histories*, so far as I can discover, Boccaccio made no use in his *Comento*, although he appears to have utilized the second and third books to some extent in a previous work, the *De Claris Mulieribus*.[5] To his intimate friend and literary correspondent, Petrarch, Boccaccio singularly enough does not seem to have communicated his discovery of the MS. of Tacitus—at any rate there is no allusion to the subject in such of their correspondence as has been preserved; nor does Petrarch anywhere mention the name of Tacitus, which in his case may be accepted as almost conclusive proof that he had no acquaintance with Tacitus' works.[6]

[1] *Comento* i. 333-4. [2] *Comento* i. 397-402.

[3] *Comento* i. 400.

[4] See introduction to Furneaux's edition of the *Annals* (Oxford, 1884).

[5] See Hortis, *loc. cit.* See also P. de Nolhac, *Boccace et Tacite* (in *Mélanges de l'École de Rome*, tom. xii, 1892).

[6] See P. de Nolhac, *Pétrarque et l'humanisme*, pp. 266-7; and *Boccace et Tacite*, pp. 6-8.

THE SEPULCHRES AT POLA REFERRED TO BY DANTE

(*Inferno* ix. 112–15)[1]

In the ninth canto of the *Inferno* Dante compares the tombs in which the heretics are confined in the sixth Circle of Hell to the sepulchres at Arles and Pola.

> Sì come ad Arli, ove Rodano stagna,
> Sì com' a Pola presso del Quarnaro,
> Che Italia chiude e suoi termini bagna,
> Fanno i sepolcri tutto il loco varo:
> Così facevan quivi d' ogni parte,
> Salvo che il modo v' era più amaro.
>
> (*Inferno* ix. 112–17.)

Dante, no doubt, heard of the sepulchres at Pola from pilgrims to the Holy Land, the 'Palmieri' of whom he speaks in the *Vita Nuova* (§ 41, ll. 35 ff.). These sepulchres, and the remains of the great Roman amphitheatre, were objects of interest many years after Dante's time to those who were on their way to the Holy Land. Pola, at the southern extremity of the Istrian Peninsula, was the first stage on the voyage to Jerusalem from Venice, the port of departure, from which it was a day's sail.

Several contemporary accounts of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land have been preserved, of which the best known are the *Viaggio al Monte Sinai*, in 1384, of Simone Sigoli of Florence; the *Saint Voyage de Jherusalem*, in 1395, of the Seigneur d'Anglure; and the *Viaggio in Terra Santa*, in 1431, of Ser Mariano of Siena.

Simone Sigoli does not mention Pola, as he and his party did not touch there. Apparently they met with contrary

[1] Reprinted from *Modern Language Review* (April 1909), iv. 390–2.

winds, for when they were four days out from Venice they had got no further than the mouth of the Gulf of Quarnero. Here they were caught in a violent storm, such as is often encountered off that gulf, which, as Simone remarks, well deserves its name of *Carnaro*,[1] 'charnel-house' (as though from *carnarium*).

Both the author of the *Saint Voyage de Jherusalem* and Ser Mariano give detailed accounts of Pola and of the objects of interest in the neighbourhood. The former, under the heading *Paula*, says:

'Le lundi matin nous partismes du port de Venise; sy arrivasmes a Paula, qui est a cent M. oultre Venise, le mardi ensuivant, le darrien jour d'aoust.

'Paula est cité assés bonne; mais elle fut jadis meilleur, car elle fut destruicte pour le temps de la guerre des Genevois et des Veniciens.[2] Et dehors la cité, devers la terre, a une tresbelle fonteine d'eau doulce devant laquelle a ung tournoyement, par lequel appert bien qu'il fut jadis moult bel et fait de grant richesses et seignorie. Et le fist faire Rolant, si comme l'en dit, et encore l'appellent aujourd'uy le palaix Rolant.[3] Et dehors ledit palaix vers la marine, a moult grant quantité dè monumens de pierre entaillée couvers, et sont sur terre: et y en peut bien avoir environ iiij^{c}; et dedens les aucuns voit l'en les os des chrestiens qui illec furent mis après une grande desconfiture que mescreans y firent. Plusieurs y a desdits monumens que l'en ne peut veoir dedans, car ilz sont trop couvers.' (Ed. Bonnardot et Longnon, *S. A. T. F.*, 1878, pp. 6–7.)

Ser Mariano of Siena, who made the voyage thirty-six years

[1] This is doubtless the *Carrenare* mentioned by Chaucer in the *Book of the Duchess*. In a note upon the passage in his edition of Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, Brae quotes the following from a Paduan writer, Palladio Negro, in illustration of the proverbial dangers of those waters: 'E regione Istriae, sinu Polatico, quem nautae *carnarium* vocitant.' He gives a still more striking passage from Vergerio, Bishop of Capo d' Istria, which is quoted by Sebastian Munster in his *Cosmographie*: 'Par deça le gouffre enragé lequel on appelle vulgairement *Carnarie* d'autantque le plus souvent on le voit agité de tempestes horribles; et là s'engloutissent beaucoup de navires et se perdent plusieurs hommes.' Brae compares the name *Shambles* applied to a dangerous shoal off the Bill of Portland by English sailors.

[2] The Genoese had destroyed the Venetian fleet at Pola, and captured the town sixteen years before (1379).

[3] This is the Roman amphitheatre, which as late as the end of the seventeenth century still bore the name of 'Orlandino', according to Spon, the antiquary, who visited Pola in 1675, and described the remains in his *Voyages d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant* (Lyon, 1677).

later, in 1431, left Venice on St. Mark's day (April 25), and reached Pola the following day:

'A dì venticinque el dì di Santo Marco . . . in su la nona la Galea fece vela pigliando el camino verso Terra Santa. . . . A dì XXVI, fumo in Istria nella città di Pola, nella quale trovammo uno edifizio quasi simile al Coliseo di Roma, e molti altri nobili edifizii. Anco vi trovammo sì grande quantità di sepulcri tutti d'uno pezzo ritratti come arche, che sarebbe incredibile a dire el numero d'essi con molte ossa dentro. Sono da Venegia a qui centovinti miglia. Stemmo due dì.' (Ed. Moreni, Firenze, 1822, pp. 6–7.)

The great Roman amphitheatre at Pola stands to this day, but nothing is now to be seen of the numerous sepulchres referred to by Dante and later writers. In his work on *Dalmatia, the Quarnero and Istria*, published in 1887, T. G. Jackson, after mentioning the tradition that Dante once sojourned within the walls of the Convent of San Michele in Monte at Pola, writes as follows:

'Between the convent and the town is supposed to have been the ancient cemetery, to which Dante likens the rows of arks or sarcophagi in which at a white heat the heresiarchs expiate their theological difficulties:

Sì come ad Arli, ove Rodano stagna, &c.

'At Arles twenty years ago one could still walk between avenues of sarcophagi as in the days of Dante. . . . At Pola all traces of the cemetery have disappeared; but Signor Rizzi (the conservator of ancient monuments at Pola) tells me that fragments of ancient tombs with Pagan inscriptions abound in the rough walls that divide the fields of the neighbourhood.' (Vol. iii, p. 300.)

'CAMMINATA DI PALAGIO' AND 'NATURAL BURELLA'

(*Inferno* xxxiv. 97–9)[1]

When Virgil and Dante, on their way out of Hell, have completed their perilous passage along the shaggy sides of Lucifer, Virgil disencumbers Dante from his neck and places him on a ledge of rock, on to which he himself then cautiously climbs. The place where he now finds himself is described by Dante as follows:

> Non era camminata di palagio,
> Là 'v' eravam, ma natural burella,
> Ch' avea mal suolo, e di lume disagio.

The commentators and translators differ as to the meaning of the word *camminata* in this passage. Some take it in the sense of the French *cheminée*, our *chimney*, and think that by the expression 'camminata di palagio' Dante meant a large and easily practicable aperture. The most emphatic supporter of this view is A. J. Butler, who in his note on the passage says:

'Although no commentator seems to recognise the meaning,[2] and Du Cange, s. v. *caminata*, speaks only of "a room with a hearth in it", I can hardly doubt that Dante is using the word in the sense of the French *cheminée*, a sense which it must have possessed, the French word being found as early as the thirteenth century. The meaning usually given, "a hall", is altogether out of place here. Every Alpine climber knows what a "Kamin" is.'

Butler's assumption that the Italian *camminata* must have had the sense of 'chimney' in Dante's time, because the cognate French word *cheminée* bore that meaning at this date,

[1] Reprinted, with corrections and additions, from *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* (1901), xxxviii. 71–7.

[2] See, however, Scartazzini's *Enciclopedia Dantesca*, s. v. *Camminata*.

is hardly a safe one. Nor is it easy to understand why the meaning 'hall' is altogether out of place here, as Butler asserts. On the contrary, Dante's contrast between 'a palace hall' and the 'natural burella' is, as will be seen later, perfectly natural and appropriate. Contemporary instances of the Italian word *camminata* occur in the *Tesoretto* (1262 or 1263) of Brunetto Latin, and in the *Intelligenza* (*c.* 1301), ascribed to Dino Compagni. Brunetto describes how he saw the figure of Justice with a crown upon her head, 'per una camminata', that is to say, in a large chamber:

E partendomi un poco
I' vidi in altro loco
La donna coronata
Per una camminata,
Che menava gran festa,
E talor gran tempesta. (xiv. 43–8.)

In the *Intelligenza,* in the description of a palace, we read:

Lo terzo loco è lo salutatorio,
E quel loco è la grande caminata,
Di gran larghezza, ov'à 'l gran parlatorio (62–4).[1]

This use of the word was quite familiar in Italy, as is evident from Buti's comment on Dante's use of it; he says: 'I signori usano di chiamare le loro sale *camminate,* massimamente in Lombardia'. Torraca points out contemporary instances of the Latin *caminata* in the same sense, one of which occurs in the Florentine *Consulte* for the year 1279, thus proving that this meaning of the word was familiar in Florence also.[2]

On the other hand, the French word *cheminée,* though it undoubtedly was used in the modern sense of 'chimney' in the thirteenth century, yet also, like the Italian *camminata,* bore the meaning of 'hall', as appears from an entry (dated 1291), which is given under this word by Godefroy in his *Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française*: 'Cis compes fui

[1] See F. Torraca, *Commento alla Divina Commedia* (Milano, 1920), p. 299.
[2] Torraca, *loc. cit.*

fay en la chemeneie par devant touz gros et menuz' (i. e. This account was made in the council-chamber in the presence of all, both great and small).

The derivation of *camminata* in this sense (which is now obsolete) is doubtless from the low Latin '(camera) caminata', a room with a fire-place in it, a living-room; the substantive being dropped, and the adjective being used substantively, by the familiar process which produced such terms in French as 'sanglier' (for 'porc sanglier') from 'porcus singularis', 'ramage' (for 'chant ramage') from 'cantus ramaticus', 'domestique' (for 'serf domestique') from 'servus domesticus', and the like. The suggested alternative derivation of *camminata*, in the sense of 'hall', from *camminare*, as being a place which is spacious enough for walking up and down, has not much to be said for it, in view of the fact that both French *cheminée* and English *chimney*, which are obviously of the same origin, are undoubtedly derived from the low Latin *caminata*, from *caminus*, the Greek *κάμινος*, a fire-place.

Besides the fact that, so far as I am aware, no thirteenth- or fourteenth-century instance of the word *camminata* in the sense of 'chimney' has as yet been discovered, there is the further objection to this interpretation, that the force of the antithesis between *camminata* and *burella* would in this case be greatly weakened, if not altogether lost.

This consideration brings us to the question as to what is the meaning of the expression 'natural burella' in line 98. The term 'burella', as has been pointed out by Torraca,[1] is strictly speaking a proper name, 'Burellae' being the ancient designation of the prisons of Florence. By an easy transition the term came to be used generally for any prison or dungeon, just as 'Bridewell' and 'Bedlam' with us have come to be used of any house of correction, or any mad-house. Torraca (*loc. cit.*) draws attention to a very interesting example, contemporary with Dante, of the use of the word 'burella' as the equivalent of prison. It occurs in the poem known as *Il Fiore*, which is a sort of free rendering of the *Roman de la*

[1] *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S. ii. 157.

Rose in a series of Italian sonnets, written towards the end of the thirteenth century—the line of the *Roman*:

Si convient que de *prison* saille,

is rendered by the author of *Il Fiore* (in the hundred and eighty-fifth sonnet):

e torni suso
E tragga l'altro fuor della *burella.*

What served as the dungeons of the 'Burellae' appear to have been originally the cellars or vaults of the ancient Roman theatre and amphitheatre in Florence, which from the time of the Lombard occupation came to be known respectively as the lesser and greater 'Perilasio'. Davidsohn in his *Forschungen zur älteren Geschichte von Florenz* (pp. 15 ff.) states that these were at one period used as dens for wild beasts, and he derives this name *Perilasio* from the old Germanic term *berolaz*, that is to say, 'bear-cage'.

One of these 'Burellae' (that in the 'Perilasio picculo', the ancient theatre) was situated in the district of Florence known as the 'Gardingo',[1] which was in the neighbourhood of the Palazzo Vecchio, on the site of the present Piazza di San Firenze. It was here that the Uberti afterwards built their palace, the destruction of which by the populace in 1266, during the joint tenure of the office of Podestà by Catalano de' Malavolti and Loderingo degli Andalò, is referred to by Dante in the twenty-third canto of the *Inferno* (l. 108). The 'Burella' with which Dante was familiar was that in the 'Perilasium maior', the ancient amphitheatre (which stood close to the western extremity of the present Piazza di Santa Croce); for, as Davidsohn points out in his *Geschichte von Florenz* (pp. 663–4), the prison in the 'Perilasio picculo' appears to have fallen into disuse about the middle of the thirteenth century, by which time the more extensive structure in the amphitheatre had come to be known as the 'Burella' *par excellence.* This is proved by the fact that one of the streets leading to it was called in Dante's day 'la via della Burella', which is marked on the plan given by Philalethes

[1] See the plan of Florence in Davidsohn's *Geschichte von Florenz.*

at the end of his third volume. This is no doubt the same street as the one spoken of in a document of 1256, quoted by Davidsohn (*op. cit.*, p. 664, n. 1), as 'strata per quam itur ad carcerem'. Torraca consequently was mistaken in his assumption [1] that the 'Burella' of Dante's day was in the 'Gardingo'.

Frequent mention of the 'Burella' is made in the *Consulte Fiorentine* [2] for the eighteen years from 1280 to 1298 recently published by Alessandro Gherardi, from which it appears that the 'Burella' was not the property of the State, but was hired at a yearly rental by the Florentine Government. Thus, under date January 10, 1284, it is recorded:

'In Consilio generali Comunis proposuit dominus Giliolus de Machalufis Potestas de locatione Borelle, secundum quod firmatum est per Consilia domini Capitanei.' [3]

Again, on the same day:

'In Consilio generali Comunis proposuit dominus Potestas super locatione Borelle, facienda ad terminum unius anni cum pactis et condictionibus lectis.' [4]

There are several entries relative to the amount of the rent, 'pensio Burelle'. Thus, on April 6, 1290, it is recorded:

'Dinus filius Iannis consuluit . . . quod pensio Burelle sit solum librarum L^ta florenorum parvorum.' [5]

Again, on the tenth of the same month:

'In Consilio generali Comunis proposuit Ghighus Paradisi, camerarius Comunis Florentie . . . de pensione Burelle, solvenda in quantitate librarum quinquaginta.' [6]

And on August 6, 1291:

'In Consilio C virorum . . . Ser Arrighus Gratie consuluit . . . quod pensio Burelle sit librarum lxx^ta florenorum parvorum.' [7]

And on the ninth of the same month:

'In Consilio generali Comunis Orlanduccius Orlandi camerarius

[1] *Di un Commento nuova alla D. C.* (Bologna, 1899), p. 115.

[2] *Le Consulte della Repubblica Fiorentina dall' anno MCCLXXX al MCCXCVIII*, per la prima volta pubblicate da A. Gherardi, 1896-8.

[3] Vol. i, p. 145. [4] Vol. i, p. 146. [5] Vol. i, p. 392.

[6] Vol. i, p. 395. [7] Vol. ii, p. 48.

proposuit infrascripta, presentibus Prioribus, videlicet . . . de pensione Burelle et duarum domorum et duarum apothecarum, pro uno anno incepto in kallendis ianuarii proxime preteriti, librarum lxx^ta florenorum parvorum.'[1]

Other entries refer to the wages of the warders,[2] who at one period appear to have been supplied by contract.[3] Others again relate to the charges for repairs—'reparatio Burelle', which mount up to a considerable sum.[4]

One entry, dated March 3, 1290, has a special interest as relating to certain Aretine prisoners, doubtless prisoners of war taken at the battle of Campaldino, where the Florentine Guelfs, among them Dante 'fighting vigorously on horseback in the front rank', as Bruni relates, won their great victory over the Aretines and Ghibellines of Tuscany on June 11 of the previous year. This entry is further of interest as supplying an instance of the use of the term 'burella', in the sense apparently not of the State prison, the 'Burella', but in that of prison quarters or custody in general. It runs as follows:

'In Consilio speciali domini Defensoris et Capitudinum xij^cim maiorum Artium proposita fuerunt ea que heri firmata fuerunt in Consilio Centum virorum.

'Item, petitio Paccini Peruczi et aliorum debentium recipere pensionem, pro burellis carceratorum Aretinorum.'[5]

The 'Burella' is mentioned several other times, in connexion with various administrative details, in the records of the *Consulte*[6]; but the above instances are sufficient to show that the word, as the name of the city dungeons, must have been perfectly familiar to every Florentine of Dante's day. Dante, therefore, in using the term *burella* in the passage under discussion ran no risk of being misunderstood by his contemporaries. It was not till the history of the word was forgotten that such interpretations as 'caverna', 'luogo stretto ed oscuro',

[1] Vol. ii. p. 95.
[2] See vol. i, pp. 388, 406, 440; vol. ii, p. 311.
[3] See vol. ii, pp. 553, 555, 653.
[4] See vol. ii, pp. 206–7, 317, 366, 514, 515.
[5] Vol. ii, p. 14.
[6] See vol. i, p. 432; vol. ii, pp. 306, 341, 379, 457, 458.

'luogo sotterraneo', and the like, came to be adopted. The fact that the word, in its ordinary acceptance, was the name of a prison explains Dante's use of the epithet 'natural', which would otherwise be quite meaningless, as it is, for instance, in Butler's rendering: 'a natural cranny'.

The antithesis intended by Dante in these lines, then, was not between 'the chimney of a palace' and 'a natural cave' or 'cranny',—if that can be described as an antithesis—but between a palace chamber, spacious and well lighted, on the one hand, and a natural dungeon in the rock, with rough uneven floor, and scanty light, on the other—

Non camminata di palagio,
ma natural burella,
Ch' avea mal suolo e di lume disagio.

DANTE AND THE LEGEND OF ST. JOHN THE EVANGELIST

(*Par.* xxv. 100-2; 112-24).[1]

After Dante has been examined by St. James concerning hope in the Heaven of the Fixed Stars (*Par.* xxv. 25-99), an exceeding bright light, equal in brilliancy to the sun itself, shines forth and joins the spirits of St. James and St. Peter:

> Poscia tra esse un lume si schiarì,
> Sì che, se il Cancro avesse un tal cristallo,
> L'inverno avrebbe un mese d'un sol dì. (ll. 100-2.)

That is to say, the brightness of this third light was such, that if a luminary of that brilliance were to shine in Cancer, it would be as light as day during a whole winter month. During the middle month of winter, when the sun is in Capricorn, Cancer, being then exactly opposite the sun, is up throughout the night, which, in the case Dante supposes, would thus be turned into day, so that daylight would be continuous throughout the month.

Beatrice explains to Dante that this brilliant apparition is the spirit of St. John the Evangelist:

> Questi è colui che giacque sopra il petto
> Del nostro Pellicano, e questi fue
> D'in sulla croce al grande offizio eletto. (ll. 112-14.)

Hearing this, Dante gazes so intently on the effulgent spirit that he is blinded by the overpowering light, like one who during a partial eclipse should attempt to look upon the sun with the naked eye:

> Quale è colui ch' adocchia, e s' argomenta
> Di vedere eclissar lo sole un poco,
> Che per veder non vedente diventa;
> Tal mi fec' io a quell' ultimo foco . . . (ll. 118-21.)

[1] Reprinted, with additions, from *Bulletin Italien* (Avril-Juin 1905), v. 109-12.

The spirit of St. John then addresses Dante:

> Perchè t'abbagli
> Per veder cosa che qui non ha loco?
> In terra è terra il corpo mio. (ll. 122–4.)

In Cary's rendering:

> Why dazzlest thou thine eyes in seeking that,
> Which here abides not? Earth my body is,
> In earth.

It is generally recognized by the commentators that there is a reference here to the legend that St. John had been received up into Heaven with his earthly body. Dante represents himself as gazing eagerly upon St. John in Paradise in the hope of beholding his glorified body (if the legend of his assumption were true), but is told by him that Christ and the Virgin Mary alone are in Heaven both in body and spirit; and he is bidden to make this fact known when he returns to the world (ll. 127–9).

The origin of this belief as to the assumption of St. John, which Dante, it seems, did not accept, is to be found, of course, in the incident recorded in the twenty-first chapter of the Gospel of St. John, where we are told that our Lord's saying concerning John, 'If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?' was interpreted by the disciples to mean that John should not die.[1] In later times this interpretation of the disciples was amplified into the tradition that St. John not only did not suffer the pangs of death, but was permitted to take with him his earthly body into the life eternal. In the following version of the legend, which is printed by Francesco Zambrini, in his *Collezione di Leggende inedite* (Bologna, 1855), this belief is prominently mentioned as among the tenets of the Church:

'Essendo Santo Giovanni molto vêchio, avea nel torno di LXXXXVIIII. anni, e morti gli apostoli, fece il suo vangelo: e fatto e conpiuto il suo vangelo, da ivi a poco tenpo, un dì gli apparve Gieso Cristo, e disse: Giovanni, tutti i tuoi fratelli sono morti, e sono in vita eterna; io voglio che tu te ne venga ogimai a stare co loro, e a riposarti. Disse santo

[1] John xxi. 22–3.

Giovanni: messere, io vegno; e andavagli dietro per la casa. Allora Gieso Cristo gli disse: non voglio che venga ora, ma domenica mattina t'aparecchia che ne venga; e io verrò per te, e verrannoci meco tutti gli tuoi fratelli, che molto deciderano di vederti co loro. Alle quali parole messere santo Giovanni disse: io sono apparechiato, messere, e uno dono ti cheggio, ch' io non vegga lo nimico, cioè il diavolo dello inferno, nell' ora della morte mia. E cosi Cristo gli concedette, e partissi da lui. Adunque Giovanni predice a' suoi discepoli, come domenica mattina dee andare a vita eterna. Contristati i suoi discepoli per la partenza che dovea fare il loro maestro, ed egli gli confortava molto, insegnando loro la via e 'l modo ch' avessono a tenere. E così apressandosi la domenica, tutti gli fece ragunare nella chiesa, ed ivi celebrò la messa molto solennemente: e conpiuta la messa, misse mano alla predicazione, e confortógli quanto seppe di quello ch' avessero a fare ad amarsi insieme; e fece fare ivi nella chiesa una fossa, ed entrovvi dentro a giacere: e levate le mani a cielo, dice: o Gieso Cristo mio, nelle tue mani raccomando lo spirito mio, e con grande disiderio vengo a te. Allora una nuvola bianca coperse tutta la fossa e lui: ed era nella chiesa grandissima moltitudine di persone, maschi e femine. E stette così per ispazio di tre ore: poi la detta luce venne meno, e corsono coloro che v' erano presenti sopra alla fossa; ma eravi tanta manna in grande abondanza. Ed è da credere, e così tiene la chiesa, che 'l detto messere santo Giovanni morì non di morte penosa, ma dilettevole, perciò che v' era quivi il suo Gieso Cristo, che tanto l' amava; e poi così partita l' anima dal corpo, risucitasse il corpo suo grorioso, e la sua anima vi rimettesse dentro; e così in carne e in ossa coll' anima andasse co lui in vita eterna a essere compagno e figliuolo della sua madre Maria.' (Vol. i, pp. 40–2.)

At the end of the legend are recapitulated the 'molte singulare grazie che Iddio diede a questo beatissimo santo', thirty-two in all, the last two being, 'che Idio risucitò il corpo suo grorioso, e rimisevi dentro l' anima sua'; and, 'che Idio in anima e in corpo l' alogò nella sua vita eterna, il qual vive col Padre e col Figliuolo e collo Inspirito Santo. Amene' (p. 45).

None of the commentators, however, appears to have noticed that in this passage of the *Paradiso* Dante reproduces another characteristic detail belonging to the legend of St. John, namely, the association of the appearance of his transfigured body with a dazzling effulgence of light. This is a persistent feature in all the legendary accounts, though it is not so prominent in some (in the above, for instance) as in others. It will be found in the following version of the legend

given by Vincent of Beauvais in his *Speculum Historiale*, as well as in the *Historia Scholastica* of Petrus Comestor, and the *Legenda Aurea* of Jacopo da Varagine, all of them accessible to Dante:

'Cum esset Iohannes apostolus nonaginta novem annorum, apparuit ei dominus Ihesus cum discipulis suis et ait: Tempus est ut epuleris in convivio meo cum fratribus tuis; dominica die resurrectionis mee que post quinque dies futura est venies ad me. Itaque dominica die convenit omnis multitudo in prefatam ecclesiam, et a primo gallorum cantu agens mysteria dei omnem populum usque ad horam tertiam diei allocutus est, hortans eos ad perseverantiam, et nuncians eis vocationem suam. Post hoc iuxta altare foveam iussit fieri, et terram foris ecclesiam proiici. Descendensque in eam expandit manus suas ad Deum, et ait: Invitatus venio gratias agens quia me dignatus es domine Ihesu Christe ad tuas epulas invitare, sciens quod ex toto corde meo desiderabam te. Odor tuus concupiscentias in me excitavit eternas. Et nunc domine commendo tibi filios tuos, quos tibi virgo mater ecclesia per aquam et spiritum regeneravit. Aperi mihi ianuam vite; princeps tenebrarum non occurrat mihi; et manus extranea non contingat me; sed suscipe me secundum verbum tuum, et perduc ad convivium epularum tuarum. Et cum omnis populus respondisset amen, lux tanta apparuit supra apostolum una fere hora, ut nullus sufferret aspectus. Postea inventa est illa fovea plena, nihil aliud in se habens nisi manna. (Lib. X, cap. xlix.)

The particular detail of the dazzling appearance of St. John's transfigured body reappears in one of the stories in the life of Edward the Confessor. St. John, disguised as a poor pilgrim, asks alms of the king, who gives him a ring, for the love of St. John his dear Lord. Later two English pilgrims, travelling in Palestine, meet 'an old man white and hoary, brighter than the sun at midday', who gives them King Edward's ring, and tells them that he is John the Evangelist, and that he bears a special love to their king, who shall join him in Paradise before six months are passed.

It seems evident, therefore, that Dante had this feature of the legend in mind in his description of the spirit of St. John in the Heaven of the Fixed Stars, as a dazzling light shining with a brilliancy equal to that of the sun itself.

DANTE'S REFERENCES TO GLASS[1]

ILLUSTRATIONS drawn from the various properties and conditions of glass seem to have had an especial attraction for Dante. Glass (*vetro*), as distinct from mirrors (*specchi*), is mentioned no less than fifteen times in Dante's works; and of these fifteen references six are introduced in comparisons or similes.

Dante twice makes mention of *molten glass*, and in such a way as to suggest that he must at some time have personally witnessed the process of the manufacture of glass—the characteristics which he notes being those which are familiar to every one who has paid a visit to glass-works, namely, the dazzling brightness, and the intense glowing heat, of the molten mass. Both these references occur in the *Purgatorio*. In the former of the two passages (xxiv. 137–9), in order to convey an idea to his readers of the exceeding brilliancy of the aspect of the Angel in the sixth Circle of Purgatory, Dante says:

giammai non si videro in fornace
Vetri o metalli sì lucenti e rossi —

'Never in furnace was seen glass or metal so bright and so ruddy as I saw One there'—the brightness being so overpowering that after looking upon it Dante was for a time deprived of sight (cf. *Purg.* ii. 39; ix. 81; xv. 26). In the second passage (xxvii. 49–51), Dante describes how, after Virgil had induced him to enter the fiery zone in the seventh Circle, by the reminder that Beatrice was on the farther side—

Tra Beatrice e te è questo muro —,

and he had followed his 'scorta saputa e fida' into the flames,

[1] Reprinted from *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana* (1903), xli. 78-83.

he encountered such intense heat, that, to cool himself, he would have plunged into molten glass:

Come fui dentro, in un bogliente vetro
Gittato mi sarei per rinfrescarmi,
Tant' era ivi lo incendio senza metro.

To *coloured glass* Dante also makes two references. Both of these relate to what is technically known as 'coated' glass, that is to say, white glass over one side of which a film of colour has been applied—as distinguished from 'pot-metal', which is glass coloured throughout the whole thickness. The celebrated so-called 'ruby' glass was invariably produced by the former of these methods, owing to the very dark, almost black, appearance of 'pot-metal' of this shade. The art of making coloured glass was well known in Italy long before Dante's day, as is evident from the treatise on mosaic and painted glass, written in the eighth century by an anonymous Italian, which is printed by Muratori in the second volume of his *Antichità Italiche del Medio Evo*; as well as from the treatise of Theophilus, *Diversarum Artium Schedula*, written in the eleventh century, in which the process of colouring glass is described in detail. (See also Tiraboschi, *Storia della Letteratura italiana*, ed. 1823, vol. iii, p. 390.)

Dante says, in the twentieth canto of the *Paradiso* (ll. 79–80), that in regard to his doubt on a certain point, he played the same part as glass does to the colour which 'coats' it, that is to say, he let his doubt be plainly apparent:

avvegna ch' io fossi al dubbiar mio
Lì, quasi vetro allo color, che il veste . . .

Many of the commentators have quite missed the point of Dante's comparison here, owing to their not having understood that the allusion is to coloured glass—obviously, in this case, not 'pot-metal' but 'coated' glass. Thus Casini, whose opinion may be accepted as representative, takes the meaning to be merely that, just as a coloured object is visible through glass, so Dante allowed his doubt to be manifest to the spirits around him: 'come un vetro che lascia trasparire l' oggetto colorato che è dietro a sè, così io lasciavo vedere il mio dubbio'. Such an interpretation as this renders Dante's

mention of *colour* altogether pointless; besides which, either the natural sense of *veste* must be ignored, or else Dante must be supposed to talk nonsense, for glass cannot with any propriety be said to be 'coated with colour' by an object seen through it.

Cary, who deserves credit for having recognized that the allusion is to stained glass, renders the passage very happily:

> Though my doubting were as manifest,
> As is through glass the hue that mantles it.

Professor Norton, in the revised edition of his translation, published in 1902, oddly enough renders: 'like glass to the colour which it clothes'.

Dante's second reference to coloured glass occurs in the eighth chapter of the third book of the *Convivio* (ll. 96–7), where he says that the soul manifests itself in the mouth of a person (that is, in his smile), like colour behind glass: 'dimostrasi nella bocca quasi siccome colore dopo vetro'. Here we have practically the same image as that which is employed in the passage quoted above from the *Paradiso*.

There is another passage, in the seventh chapter of this same book of the *Convivio* (ll. 34–8), where coloured glass was no doubt in Dante's mind, though he does not specifically mention it. Speaking of the various degrees of transparency in different bodies, he says: 'Certi corpi sono che, per essere del tutto diafani, non solamente ricevono la luce, ma quella non impediscono, anzi rendono lei del loro colore colorata nell' altre cose', that is to say, certain substances are so entirely diaphanous that they not only admit the light, but offer no obstacle to it; nay, they even transmit it, stained with their own colour, on to other objects. The most familiar example of light being stained in passing through a coloured medium is afforded by painted glass; and it is somewhat curious that Dante, with his fondness for similes from glass, should not have given it as an instance here. This is the more surprising, inasmuch as Albertus Magnus (from the first book of whose *De Intellectu* the whole of this passage is taken) especially mentions the transmission of light by coloured glass as a case in point: 'Aliquando si vere in toto sit perspicuum corpus coloratum,

si lumen superveniat, illi colores colorant alia corpora sibi apposita, sicut videmus in vitro colorato, per quod lumen veniens, secum trahit colorem vitri, et ponit eum super corpus, cui per vitrum incidit lumen'. (See my *Dante Studies and Researches*, pp. 52–3.)

Ordinary glass, as a transparent medium, is several times mentioned by Dante. The first mention occurs in the ninth chapter of the third book of the *Convivio* (l. 71), in the discussion as to the nature of vision, or eye-sight, where Dante explains that visible objects, that is to say the forms of them, penetrate into the eye through the diaphanous medium, as through transparent glass: 'le cose visibili vengono dentro all' occhio — non dico le cose, ma le forme loro — per lo mezzo diafano, non realmente, ma intenzionalmente, siccome quasi in vetro trasparente'.

In the thirty-fourth canto of the *Inferno* the traitors fixed in the 'thick-ribbed' ice of Cocytus, those who are frozen in completely below the surface, are described as being visible through the ice, like a mote embedded in glass:

> Trasparean come festuca in vetro (l. 12).

Again, in the third canto of the *Paradiso*, Dante, wishing to describe a faint reflection, says it was such as one sees of one's own face in highly polished *transparent* glass, in which the image, of course, is only very faintly rendered, as compared with the reflection from a mirror:

> Quali per vetri trasparenti e tersi . . .
> Tornan dei nostri visi le postille
> Debili. (ll. 10, 13–14.)

The most numerous references, naturally, are to glass as a reflecting surface. From these are excluded, for the purposes of the present note, the twenty odd references to mirrors (*specchi*) pure and simple, which occur in various connexions in the *Convivio* and *Divina Commedia*. Dante's usual term for glass prepared as a reflecting surface, other than *specchio*, is, to render it literally, 'leaded glass', *vetro piombato* (*Conv.* iii. 9, ll. 81–2), *impiombato vetro* (*Inf.* xxiii. 25), *vetro terminato con piombo* (*Conv.* iii. 9, ll. 76–7), *vetro lo qual diretro a*

sè piombo nasconde (*Par.* ii. 89–90), and so on. Benvenuto da Imola, in his comment on *Inferno* xxiii. 25, gives the following explanation, which, it may be observed, is merely an amplification of that given by Jacopo della Lana: 'Speculum fit ex vitro et plumbo applicito sibi cum una confectione, et quia plumbum est corpus opacum, ideo species visibilis quae repraesentatur in corpore diafano non penetrat ultra plumbum, sed radii multiplicantur ibi, et reddunt talem imaginem, sicut probatur in *Perspectiva*' (vol. ii, p. 161, ed. Vernon).

Jacopo della Lana refers in this connexion to the *Liber de Speculis Euclidis* (which is also quoted by Roger Bacon in his *Opus Maius*), as well as to the *Perspectiva* mentioned by Benvenuto, a treatise which Jacopo elsewhere (in his comment on *Inferno* x. 100) quotes as Euclid's. These two treatises, there can be little doubt, are identical with the *Optica et Catoptrica* attributed to Euclid, and published among his reputed works in the Oxford edition of 1703. An Italian translation of the *Optica et Catoptrica*, published at Florence in 1573, is entitled *La Prospettiva di Euclide . . .*, while a Spanish translation of the same work, published at Madrid in 1585, bears the title *La Perspectiva y Especularia de Euclide.*

Once only does Dante use *vetro* alone, without any qualification, to indicate a reflecting surface, namely in the twenty-eighth canto of the *Paradiso* (ll. 7–8), where he speaks of a man who sees the reflection of a light behind him, and turns round,

> per veder se il vetro
> Gli dice il vero.

The only passage, in which 'leaded glass' is mentioned, which calls for remark, is that in the ninth chapter of the third book of the *Convivio* (ll. 87–99), a passage which forms part of the discussion as to the nature of eye-sight already referred to. Dante here says that in order that the vision of a given object should be accurate (*verace*), and the exact counterpart of the object itself, it is essential that the medium through which the form of the object enters the eye should be devoid of any colouring matter, as should be also the aqueous humour of

the pupil of the eye. Otherwise the form of the object in question would appear stained with the colour both of the medium and of the pupil. For this reason, he continues, those who wish to make objects appear of any particular colour in a mirror, interpose a film of this colour between the glass and the lead with which it is backed, so that the glass is pervaded by it: 'coloro che vogliono fare parere le cose nello specchio d' alcuno colore, interpongono di quel colore tra 'l vetro e 'l piombo, sicchè il vetro ne rimane compreso'.[1] Dante in this instance appears to have been arguing from theory rather than from actual experiment; for, so far as I have been able to make the experiment, it does not seem possible to obtain a coloured image, properly so called, by any such means as Dante suggests. For example, if a piece of glass be backed with *red* (say, opaque red paper, or bookbinders' cloth), the reflection from the glass of a white object (of a sheet of white paper, for instance), will be found to be *not red*, but *white*. It is true that by concentrating the attention on the red lining of the glass, and not on the reflection, an appearance of colour may be produced in the latter, owing to the red background being seen *through the reflection*; but this is very far from being what Dante describes as a coloured image.

I suspect that Dante derived this illustration at second hand from Albertus Magnus, or some such authority; but so far I have not been able to trace the source whence it was taken.

[1] In the translation of the *Convivio* by Elizabeth Price Sayer, which was published by Professor Henry Morley in his *Universal Library*, this passage is rendered: 'This is the reason why they who wish to make things appear of a certain colour in a mirror interpose that colour between the glass and the lead, *the glass being pressed over it*' (!).

DANTE AND THE BADIA DI FIRENZE[1]

AN interesting record has lately come to my notice in connexion with Dante and the Badia di Firenze, the ancient Benedictine monastery of Florence, which, so far as I am aware, has hitherto escaped the notice of the biographers of the poet.

In his *Cronica dell' insigne ed imperial' Abbadia di Fiorenza* (published at Milan in 1664) Placido Puccinelli,[2] in his account of Abbate Azzone II, who was Abbot from about 1297 till his death in 1326 (five years after the death of Dante), states that Azzone was a close friend of Dante, and that in honour of his friend, and of so illustrious a citizen of Florence, he celebrated a memorial mass for the poet in the Church of the Badia. Puccinelli's statement is as follows:

'Fù amicissimo del celeberrimo Dante Algieri, il quale l'anno 1321 esule passò all'altra vita nella Città di Ravenna, seguendo l'orme dell'esilio di tanti, e tanti Eroi di valore, di virtù, di senno, e nobiltà, come Annio Seneca, Aristide, Camillo, Catone, Cicerone, Licurgo, Marcello, Metello, Pittagora, Rutilio, Scipione, Severino Boetio, Solone, ed altri, de' quali verdidieramente si può dire, che, *Nemo Propheta sine honore, nisi in Patria sua.* Esempio ad ogni litterato, ed amatore della Patria, e del bene pubblico à non s' attristare, ma rallegrarsi occorrendogli simili eventi. Azzone ricordevole dell' Amicitia, e del valore di tanto soggetto con nobile apparato in questa nostra Chiesa gl' apprestò in segno di gratitudine solenne Offitio, e Sacrifitij, quantunque, come habbiamo detto, morisse in Ravenna, e nella Chiesa di S. Maria in Portico, ora detta S. Francesco, fosse sepellito in nobile Tomba fattagli da Ostasio e Guido, che poi dalle Ruote del tempo malamente guastata, gli fù restituita dal celeberrimo Bernardo Bembo Potestà, Padre del Cardinale Pietro di tale cognome, con questi versi:

[1] Reprinted, with additions and corrections, from *Bulletin Italien* (Avril-Juin 1911), xi. 93-8.

[2] According to Richa (*Notizie istoriche delle Chiese Fiorentine*, Firenze, 1754, Tom. i, p. 199) the figure of S. Mauro painted by Onorio Marinari, in the Chapel in the Badia dedicated to that saint, is a portrait of Placido Puccinelli.

Exigua Tumuli DANTES, hic sorte iacebas
Squallenti nulli cognite penè situ.
At nunc Marmoreo subnixus clauderis[1] *arcu*
Omnibus et cultu splendidiore nites.
Nimirum Musis BEMBVS[2] *incensus Hetruscis*
Hoc tibi, quem in primis hæc[3] *coluere dedit.*[4]
An. Salu. MCCCCLXXXIII. VI Kal. Iun.
BERNARDVS BEMBVS ÆRE SUO POS.

Epitaffio fatto da Dante mentre era moribondo[5]:

Iura Monarchiæ, Superos, Phlegetonta, lacusq;
Lustrando cecini, voluerunt Fata quousque
Sed quia pars cessit melioribus hospitia[6] *castris*
Actoremq; suum petiit fœliciter astris
Hic claudor DANTES patrijs extorris ab oris
Quem genuit parvi Florentia mater amoris.'[7]

(Ed. 1664, pp. 25-6.)

[1] Read *conderis.* [2] Read *Bembus Musis.*

[3] Read *hae.*

[4] This epitaph had been copied (in 1594), seventy years before Puccinelli's book was published, by an English traveller, Fynes Moryson, and translated by him as follows:

In a poore Tombe *Dantes* thou didst lie here,
The place obscure made thee almost unknowne,
But now a marble chest thy bones doth beare,
And thou appearest fresh as flower new blowne.
Bembus with *Tuscane* Muses ravished,
Gave this to thee, whom they most cherished.

(See my *Dante in English Literature*, vol. i, p. 91.)

[5] Puccinelli follows the old tradition that Dante himself wrote this epitaph on his death-bed. It is now known to have been written about the year 1357, more than thirty years after Dante's death, by one Bernardo Canaccio. (See C. Ricci, *L'Ultimo Rifugio di Dante*, p. 264.)

[6] Read *hospita.*

[7] Translated by Fynes Moryson as follows:

The Monarchies, Gods, Lakes, and Phlegeton,
I searcht and sung, while my Fates did permit:
But since my better part to heaven is gone,
And with his Maker mongst the starres doth sit,
I *Dantes* a poore banished man lie here,
Whom *Florence* Mother of Sweet Love did beare.

(See *Dante in English Literature, loc. cit.* 'Sweet' in the last line is probably a misprint for 'scant'.)

Puccinelli wrote before the second restoration (in 1692) of Dante's tomb, when Bembo's inscription, which was originally affixed to the wall at the left side of the tomb, was removed to a different situation.

Puccinelli, who appears to have been a trustworthy writer, does not give his authority for this interesting statement as to the posthumous honour paid to Dante in his own city at a time when he was still regarded as a public enemy—for the sentence against him of exile, and of execution, if captured, had not yet been repealed.[1] There seems no reason, however, to suppose that it was a mere invention on Puccinelli's part.

Dante refers more than once in the *Divina Commedia* to the Church of the Badia, in which his memory is said to have been thus honoured at the time of his death.

In the fifteenth canto of the *Paradiso* Cacciaguida, Dante's great-great-grandfather, who was born about the year 1090. and died about 1147, is represented, in speaking of the Florence of his day, as saying:

> Fiorenza, dentro dalla cerchia antica,
> Ond'ella toglie ancora e terza e nona,
> Si stava in pace, sobria e pudica. (ll. 97–9.)

The commonly accepted and traditional interpretation of this passage is that Dante is here referring to the chimes from the Badia, from which the Florentines were wont to take their time, the 'cerchia antica' being the original (Roman) wall of the city,[2] close to which the Badia was situated. Jacopo della Lana, for instance, one of the earliest commentators on the *Divina Commedia* (his commentary having been written probably between 1323 and 1328), writes:

[1] Dante had been expressly excluded from the amnesties of September 1311 and June 1316.

[2] Villani in his *Cronica* (iv. 8) says that the Florentines enlarged the boundaries of the city by building a new wall in 1078, in which case Cacciaguida's reference would be not to the original Roman wall, but to this *new* wall, his description of which as 'cerchia *antica*' would be singularly inappropriate. Davidsohn, however, has shown that Villani's statement cannot be accepted in this instance, and he proves by documentary evidence that the second wall was not begun till nearly 100 years later than the date assigned to it by Villani, namely not until 1172, some twenty-five years after Cacciaguida's death, whose reference therefore was to the original wall, naturally enough described to his descendant Dante as 'cerchia antica'. (See *Geschichte von Florenz*, pp. 532 ff.; and *Forschungen zur älteren Geschichte von Florenz*, pp. 113 ff.)

'Sulle ditte mura vecchie si è una chiesa chiamata la Badia, la quale chiesa suona terza e nona e l'altre ore, alle quali li lavoranti delle arti entrano e esceno dal lavorìo.'

That this is the correct interpretation, and that the reference is not to San Giovanni, as some commentators have thought, is proved by an extract from the *Statuto dell' Arte dei Corazzai* (the guild of cuirass-makers) of the year 1321 (the year of Dante's death), recently printed by Dr. Robert Davidsohn in the fourth part of his valuable *Forschungen zur Geschichte von Florenz* (Berlin, 1908). By this statute it was enacted that in order that neighbouring citizens might not be disturbed by the noise during their hours of sleep, no member of the guild should be allowed to ply hammer or file 'a tertio sono campane usque ad squillas[1] habacie'. (*Op. cit.*, p. 387.)

A second reference to the Badia di Firenze occurs in the sixteenth canto of the *Paradiso*, again in the mouth of Cacciaguida, who, in his account of the citizens of Florence contemporary with himself, speaks of those[2] who bore the arms

> Del gran Barone, il cui nome e il cui pregio
> La festa di Tommaso riconforta. (ll. 128-9.)

The allusion here is to the annual commemoration on St. Thomas' day (December 21) still solemnly observed,[3] in

[1] *Squillae* here obviously indicates the hour of dawn, the hours in question being apparently those between the sounding of the evening and the morning *Avemaria*. In the well-known passage in the eighth canto of the *Purgatorio*, 'squilla di lontano, Che paia il giorno pianger che si muore' (ll. 5-6), of course indicates the evening hour—whether that of the evening *Avemaria*, or that of *Compieta* (Complines) is disputed, though the latter, on the evidence, seems the more likely. (See on this subject F. Novati, *Indagini e Postille Dantesche*, pp. 139-46, and the appendix by A. Lattes, pp. 168-70; and also A. Bonaventura, *Dante e la Musica*, p. 161.)

[2] The families here in question appear to have been the Giandonati, the Pulci, the Nerli, the Gangalandi, the Della Bella, and the Alepri. (See *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S., vi. 217.)

[3] Davidsohn in his *Geschichte von Florenz* writes: 'Lange ist in Florenz, stets ist in der Badia das Andenken lebendig geblieben

> Des grossen Freiherrn, dessen Preis und Ruhm
> Alljährlich noch das Thomasfest erneut.

Am Tage Allerseelen begannen die Mönche ihre Todtenfeier stets mit

the church of the Badia, of the death on that day, in the year 1001, of the Great Marquis of Tuscany, Hugh of Brandenburg, by whose mother, the Countess Willa, the monastery had been founded twenty-three years before (978).

Besides those I have already mentioned there is another link between Dante and the Badia which is of peculiar interest. It was in the Church of Santo Stefano attached to the Badia [1].

Gebeten am Grabe des Markgrafen und jene Erinnerungsfeier am Thomasfest, von der Dante spricht, ist seit neun Jahrhunderten nie unterblieben. Noch tönt in der Morgenfrühe des kürzesten Tages dort die Orgel, und das Licht der Kerzen rings um den marmornen Sarkophag kämpft mit dem ersten Schimmer der Dämmerung, während am Altar das Requiem, am Grabe das Gebet für den Verstorbenen gesungen wird. Vor dem Denkmal stellt man die Halbfigur eines Ritters auf, mit Harnisch, Helm und geschlossenem Visier, mit dem Schwert in der einen, dem goldenen Zepter in der anderen Hand. Schwerlich wird noch jetzt an irgend einer zweiten Stelle das Anniversar eines Fürsten der Ottonenzeit begangen, und die Kirche, die grosse Bewahrerin der Traditionen, versteht es, in den Formen des Gedenkfestes, das die Badia feiert, den populären Helden anzudeuten, dem es gewidmet ist' (pp. 122-3).

According to Richa, in the eighteenth century the commemoration took place on the feast of St. Stephen: 'Il saggio Cosimo della Rena nella sua serie dei Duchi di Toscana pretende, che la morte del Marchese accadesse nel dì 21 Dicembre del 1001, giorno in cui i Monaci di Badia celebravano il di lui anniversario, rinnovellando ogni anno le sue lodi con erudita diceria recitata da qualche nobile Giovanetto, lo che gentilmente toccò Dante nel canto XVI del Paradiso. . . . E questo laudevole costume dura fino al presente, eccetto che ora si fa nel giorno di Santo Stefano protomartire, alla quale solenne funzione dopo tanti secoli ancora vi concorre molta Nobiltà Fiorentina, e l' Abate in detto giorno stando in sedia parato Pontificalmente riceve certi censi dai Luoghi alla Badia sottoposti.' (*Notizie istoriche delle Chiese Fiorentine*, Firenze, 1754, Tom. i, pp. 192-3.)

[1] The Church of the Badia itself was dedicated to the Virgin. The Church of Santo Stefano (known as Santo Stefano del Popolo, to distinguish it from Santo Stefano al Ponte Vecchio) formed part of the monastery buildings (see the Plan of Florence at the beginning of the thirteenth century, at the end of Davidsohn's *Geschichte von Florenz*, on which No. 11 is the Badia, No. 8 Santo Stefano del Popolo, and No. 38 Santo Stefano al Ponte Vecchio).

'La Chiesa di S. Stefano dipendeva della Badia, ma era cosa distinta da quella del Monastero, dedicata alla Vergine. Corrisponde oggi alla Cappella Pandolfini nell' atrio dell' attuale Chiesa di Badia.' (M. Barbi, in *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S. vi. 206.) Repetti in his *Compendio Storico della Città di Firenze*, under the heading 'Chiesa di Badia', says: 'La più vetusta chiesa dopo quella di S. Giovanni Batista credo potersi dir questa già dedicata a S. Stefano, ed ora a S. Maria. . . . La prima chiesa, che, come ho detto, era dedicata a S. Stefano protomartire, trovasi tuttora ridotta ad uso di cappella nel corridore che conduce alla chiesa attuale di S. Maria . . . fù sempre dentro l' antico e primitivo cerchio della città sebbene rasente alle sue mura'

that the first public lectures on the *Divina Commedia* were delivered in Florence. The lecturer was Boccaccio, who was appointed to the office (at a salary of a hundred gold florins per annum) on August 25, 1373, and delivered his first lecture on Sunday, October 23, following.

The outcome of these lectures, which were interrupted by Boccaccio's illness, followed not long after by his death (December 21, 1375), has been preserved in the well-known *Comento,* which consists of a fragment only, the commentary breaking off abruptly at the seventeenth verse of the seventeenth canto of the *Inferno*.[1]

It is only recently that the honour of having been the scene of Boccaccio's lectures on the *Commedia* has been restored to the Santo Stefano of the Badia. Tiraboschi, in his *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, states that Boccaccio lectured 'nella chiesa di S. Stefano presso il Ponte Vecchio' (vol. v, p. 744, ed. 1823); and Gaetano Milanesi, the latest editor of Boccaccio's *Comento,* makes the same unqualified assertion, 'Fece il Boccaccio la sua lettura in Santo Stefano al Ponte Vecchio' (*Avvertimento*, p. iii). This statement has been repeated of late years by sundry writers on Boccaccio, French, German, and English; but, as I have pointed out elsewhere,[2] we have the unimpeachable testimony of one who himself attended the lectures that they were delivered in the Chiesa di Santo Stefano of the Badia. This was Benvenuto da Imola, himself the author of a commentary on the *Commedia*, who

(p. 309). In the list of 'Chiese Parrocchiali dentro la Città' it is described as 'Badia Fiorentina (S. Maria in S. Stefano)' (p. 350). The Church of Santo Stefano al Ponte Vecchio, which is close to the Via Por Santa Maria, is now known as the Church of Santo Stefano and Santa Cecilia (Repetti, *op. cit.*, p. 351).

[1] It is known that we possess all that Boccaccio wrote of the commentary, for it so happens that the possession of the MS. was disputed after Boccaccio's death, and one of the claimants (Boccaccio's brother Jacopo) in his statement of claim describes it as 'uno iscritto, o vero isposizione sopra sedici Capitoli. e parte del diciassettesimo del Dante, il quale scritto il detto Messer Giovanni di Boccaccio non compiè'. (See the article in the present volume on *Boccaccio's Commentary on the 'Divina Commedia'*, pp. 60–3.

[2] In the article on *Boccaccio's Commentary on the 'Divina Commedia'* already quoted (pp. 57–8).

in his comment on Cacciaguida's reference to the chimes of the Badia, quoted above, says:

'In interiori circulo est Abbatia monachorum Sancti Benedicti, cuius ecclesia dicitur Sanctus Stephanus, ubi certius et ordinatius pulsabantur horae quam in aliqua alia ecclesia civitatis; quae tamen hodie est inordinata et neglecta, ut vidi, dum audirem venerabilem praeceptorem meum Boccacium de Certaldo legentem istum nobilem poetam in dicta ecclesia.'[1]

[1] *Benevenuti de Rambaldis de Imola Comentum super Dantis Aldigherii Comoediam*, vol. v, p. 145.

JOHN FOXE AND THE 'EDITIO PRINCEPS' OF DANTE'S *DE MONARCHIA*[1]

In the year following the accession of Queen Mary, John Foxe, sometime Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, left England, and joined the Protestant refugees in Germany. In 1555 he went to Basle, where he found employment as a reader of the press in the printing office of the Protestant publisher Johannes Oporinus (Johann Herbst). In 1559, while Foxe was still at Basle, Oporinus published a small volume (now exceedingly rare), containing a collection of five tracts concerning the relations of the Empire and the Papacy, in which was included (second on the list) 'Dantis Florentini de Monarchia Libri Tres', now printed for the first time.[2] It is by no means improbable that this volume was seen through the press by Foxe. At any rate, Foxe was acquainted with the *De Monarchia*, for he quotes it (though not by name) in his *Book of Martyrs*. Speaking of Dante, whom he describes

[1] Reprinted, with additions, from *Athenaeum*, April 14, 1906.

[2] The full title of the work is: Andreę Alciati Iureconsulti Clariss. *De formula Romani Imperij Libellus.* Accesserunt non dissimilis argumenti. Dantis Florentini *De Monarchia libri tres.* Radulphi Carnotensis *De translatione Imperij libellus.* Chronica M. Iordanis, *Qualiter Romanum Imperium translatum sit ad Germanos.* Omnia nunc primùm in lucem edita.

It is remarkable that in the *Epistola Dedicatoria* to the *De Monarchia* Oporinus states that the author of that work was not Dante the celebrated poet of Florence, but a learned philosopher, the friend of Politian: 'Sunt autem quos adiunximus, primùm Dantis Aligherij, non vetustioris illius Florentini poetae celeberrimi, sed philosophi acutissimi atque doctiss. viri, et Angeli Politiani familiaris quondam, de Monarchia libri tres: dignissimi certè, qui ob rerum et argumentorum, quibus creberrimis sunt referti, acumen et copiam, publicè etiam extent, neque diutius, ob styli fortè scabriciem (eiusmodi tamen ferè doctissimi quique, ea licet eruditissima aetate, in tractanda philosophia uti solebant) negligantur. In quo tamen ipso opere typis quoque nostris describendo, non minus rarò coniectura utendum fuit: saepe verò (ubi non potuimus assequi) ipsum archetypum sequi potius, quàm temerè aliquid sive addere, sive inducere aut mutare visum est: tutius id ita fore, ac nostro convenientius muneri existimantibus.'

as 'an Italian writer against the pope', he says: 'Certayne of his writinges be extant abroade, wherein he proveth the pope not to be above the Emperour, nor to have any right or jurisdiction in the empyre.' This is an undoubted reference to Dante's arguments in the tenth chapter of the third book of the *De Monarchia*. Further, Foxe was certainly familiar with this very volume, for in the paragraph following the above passage he continues:

'Hereunto may be added the saying out of the boke of Jornandus, imprinted with the foresayd Dantes, that forsomuch as Antichrist commeth not before the destruction of the Empire, therefore such as go about to have the empire extinct, are forerunners and messengers in so doing of Antichrist.'

The work here referred to as 'the boke of Jornandus' is evidently the 'Chronica M. Iordanis, Qualiter Romanum Imperium translatum sit ad Germanos' (the fourth of the tracts contained in the volume in question), in which (on p. 225) occurs the original of the passage cited by Foxe:

'Item nota, quod cum Antichristus venturus non sit, nisi prius imperium destruatur, indubitanter omnes illi qui ad hoc dant operam, ut non sit imperium, quantum ad hoc, sunt praecursores et nuncii Antichristi.'

It thus came about, by a curious combination of circumstances, that Dante's *De Monarchia* first saw the light in the guise of a Reformation tract, and was in all probability corrected for the press by an Englishman, an Oxford scholar, one of the most ardent followers of that 'leader' whose name Dante was supposed, by certain enthusiasts, to have prophetically anagrammatized in his prediction of the advent of the VELTRO[1] (LVTERO).

Five years after its publication by Oporinus *Dantis Monarchia* was placed on the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* promulgated by order of Pope Pius IV in 1564, at the close of the Council of Trent. In the same list, among the 'scriptores, qui aut haeretici, aut nota haeresis suspecti fuerunt, quorum scripta, non edita solum sed edenda etiam prohibenda sunt', figure the names of 'Ioan. Foxus' and 'Ioan. Oporinus'.

[1] *Inf.* i. 101 ff.

DANTE AND THE INDEX[1]

In view of the benignant attitude in recent times of the Papal See towards the memory of Dante, it is interesting to recall the attitude of Rome three hundred years ago. In the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum*, promulgated by order of Pope Pius IV in 1564, there figures conspicuously at the head of the list under the letter D the entry, *Dantis Monarchia*. This same book more than two hundred years before, in the days of Pope John XXII, had been condemned by the Papal legate in Lombardy to be publicly burned; and it is recorded by Boccaccio that the Cardinal in question did his utmost to have the author's bones burned at the same time,[2] in order to stamp with lasting infamy the memory of the writer who dared to assert that the authority of the Emperor was derived from God, and not from God's Vicar upon earth. Dante's book finds itself in company with the works of several compatriots on the Index. One is the *Decameron* of Boccaccio. Another is an Italian translation of extracts from Petrarch's 'Latin Epistles', with three of his sonnets. In the same pillory as Dante, but more prominently placed, stand the arch-heretics Luther, Zwinglius, Calvin, Erasmus, and 'Henricus VIII, Anglus', who are all included under the heading of 'Auctores Primae Classis'—i.e. writers who were 'aut haeretici aut nota haeresis suspecti'. Dante's name figures again in the supplement to the Index printed at Lisbon in 1581, which contains the list of books prohibited in Portugal. In this are included certain passages from the commentary of Cristoforo Landino

[1] Reprinted, with additions, from *Literature*, October 22, 1898.

[2] 'Questo libro più anni dopo la morte dello autore fu dannato da messer Beltrando cardinal del Poggetto e legato del papa nelle parti di Lombardia, sedente Giovanni papa XXII. . . . Il detto cardinale, non essendo chi a ciò s' opponesse, avuto il soprascritto libro, quello in pubblico, siccome cose eretiche contenente, dannò al fuoco. E 'l simigliante si sforzava di fare dell' ossa dell' autore a eterna infamia e confusione della sua memoria' (*Vita di Dante*, ed. Macri-Leone, § 16).

on the *Divina Commedia*, particularly one (on *Inferno* x) in which it is claimed that heretics are not deserving of capital punishment, but of imprisonment only. On this list figures also the *Commedia* itself, the reading of which is forbidden until it has been officially expurgated. Those who are in possession of the work have to submit their copies to the Holy Office in order that the objectionable matter may be cut out:

'Nos Commentarios de Christoforo Landino, sobre a Comedia, ou cantos de Dante, se hão de riscar algumas proposições, como o que tem sobre o segundo Canto do inferno . . . no começo, onde affirma, que a materia prima, e os Anjos, e os ceos são creaturas eternas,'[1] que foi error, dalguns philosophos gentios.

'E no .x. canto do inferno . . . diz, que se não ha de dar pena de morte aos hereges, senão de carcere: o que se ha tambem de tirar.[2]

'E no mesmo texto de Dante, ha passos, que per obrigação se deuem riscar, que se mostrarão quando se presentárem ao sancto Officio.'

(fol. 38.)

Curious parallels to this mutilation of the text of the *Divina Commedia* are furnished by the Latin translation by Carlo D'Aquino in the eighteenth century, who omitted some 350 lines[3], and in our own day by the modern Greek translation of the late Turkish Ambassador, Musurus Pasha, who, as a subject of the Sultan, thought it incumbent upon him to omit Dante's uncomplimentary references to the founder of Islam.

[1] The passage occurs in the commentary at the beginning not of the second, but of the third, canto of the *Inferno*. Landino says: 'Creature eterne furono la prima materia, i Cieli, e gl' Angeli. È adunque ottima argumentatione a provar che l' Inferno sia eterno, percioche se chi haveva a essere in pene è eterno, è necessario, che il luogo della pena sia eterno, è verisimile che gl' Angeli fussero creati innanzi che l' Inferno, percioche prima deve esser la colpa, che la punition della colpa: adunque quando Dio creò il Cielo, e la terra, costituì nel centro d' essa terra il luogo dove gli Angeli ribelli a Dio havessero eterne pene.'

[2] Landino says on *Inf.* x. 7: 'Non si debbono uccider gli heretici, ma incarcerargli, ammonirgli, e ridurgli quanto si puo. Ovis enim errabunda occidi non debet, sed ad caulam reduci.'

[3] In his preface (1727) D'Aquino says: 'Non può negarsi, che il Poeta trascorre talvolta a diminuire la fama altrui con invettive aspre e pungenti. Ciò che hò giudicato potersi recare a giusta offesa, particolarmente d' illustri Comuni, e sagri Personaggi d' eccelso grado, hò io quì lasciato in bianco, e punteggiatine i versi a misura del Testo, non convenendo a ben costumato, non che Religioso Scrittore propagare coll' idioma Latino la notizia di tali rimproveri a Nazioni straniere' (p. 11).

THE INQUISITION AND THE 'EDITIO PRINCEPS' OF THE *VITA NUOVA*[1]

WITH the exception of the *Latin Eclogues* and *Letters*, the *Vita Nuova* was the last of Dante's works to appear in print. The *Divina Commedia* was first printed in 1472, the *Convivio* in 1490, the *Quaestio* in 1508, the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (in Trissino's translation) in 1529, and the *De Monarchia* in 1559. The *editio princeps* of the *Vita Nuova* did not appear until 1576, more than a hundred years after the first edition of the *Commedia*. It was printed at Florence, and in the same volume were included fifteen of Dante's *Canzoni*, and Boccaccio's *Vita di Dante*.

'Habent sua fata libelli!' Certainly the fate of Dante's works, as printed books, has been a curious one. The *Divina Commedia*, after it had been in print for over a century, and more than forty editions of it had been published, was placed on the Index, as a book which no good Catholic might read until it had been expurgated by the Holy Office. The *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, first printed in Italian, was for fifty years regarded as a falsification by Trissino, until the publication of the original Latin text by a Florentine exile in Paris.[2] The *De Monarchia*, which was in all probability seen through the press by an Englishman, an Oxford scholar, the famous John Foxe, as I have shown, made its first appearance in print in the guise of a Reformation tract,[3] and was promptly in its turn placed on the Index. The *Eclogues* and the *Letters*, the *Quaestio*, which owes its rehabilitation to the scholarly labours

[1] Reprinted, with additions, from *Modern Language Review* (April 1908), iii. 228-31.

[2] By Jacopo Corbinelli in 1577.

[3] See the note on *John Foxe and the 'Editio Princeps' of the 'De Monarchia'* in the present volume, pp. 109-10.

of two members of the Oxford Dante Society,[1] have all been denounced, at one time or another, as contemptible forgeries. While, strangest fate of all, the *Vita Nuova*, the work of Dante's earliest years, 'the first and tenderest love-story of modern literature', as it has been called,[2] had to submit to defacement and mutilation at the hands of the Inquisition, before it was allowed to leave the press in its native Florence.

It was long ago remarked by Milton that the version of Boccaccio's *Vita di Dante* contained in this same volume is a garbled one. In an entry in his Commonplace Book, under the heading *Rex*, he notes that Boccaccio's account of the *De Monarchia*, and of its being condemned to the flames as a heretical book by the Cardinal Bertrand du Pouget, which is to be found in previous editions of the *Vita*, was suppressed by the Inquisitor in this edition[3]: 'Authoritatem regiam a Papa non dependere scripsit Dantes Florentinus in eo libro cui est titulo Monarchia, quem librum Cardinalis del Poggietto tanquam scriptum haereticum comburi curavit, ut testatur Boccatius in vita Dantis editione priore, nam e posteriori mentio istius rei omnis est deleta ab inquisitore' (fol. 182).[4]

That certain passages of the *Divina Commedia* should have been censured as too plain spoken, or that the *De Monarchia* should have been placed on the Index, is perhaps not altogether surprising; but that in the *Vita Nuova* even the Inquisition should have been able to discover anything offensive to the Church, or to religion, is almost incredible. Yet such was the case. Witte, forty years ago,[5] pointed out that certain

[1] The late Dr. Moore (see his *Studies in Dante, Second Series*, pp. 303-56), and the late Dr. C. L. Shadwell, who published a critical edition of the treatise, with an English translation, in 1909.

[2] By Charles Eliot Norton—see his translation of the *Vita Nuova* (London. 1892): 'So long as there are lovers in the world, and so long as lovers are poets, this first and tenderest love-story of modern literature will be read with appreciation and responsive sympathy' (p. 94).

[3] See my *Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary*, vol. i, p. 122.

[4] The Inquisitor's *imprimatur* runs as follows: 'Si è veduto la Vita Nuova descritta da Dante Allighieri, insieme con la Vita dell' istesso Dante descritta da Giouan Boccaccio, e si è concesso licenzia che si stampino questo dì ultimo di Dicembre 1575. Fra Francesco da Pisa Min. Conu. Inquisitor Generale dello stato di Fiorenza *ff.*'

[5] In his edition of the *Vita Nuova* (Leipzig, 1876), p. xxxii.

terms applied by Dante to Beatrice in the *Vita Nuova*, and certain phrases, have been altered or suppressed in the *editio princeps*; and Professor Barbi has recently drawn attention to the same fact in more detail.[1] Allusions to the Deity, quotations from Scripture, words with sacred associations, and so on, have in nearly every instance come under the ban of the censor. One cannot help being struck with the triviality, not to say absurdity, of the majority of the alterations. For example, Dante five times applies to Beatrice the epithet *gloriosa*. Once, apparently by an oversight, the word has been allowed to stand (§ 38, l. 12); in the four other instances it has been changed either to *graziosa* (§ 2, l. 5 'la graziosa donna della mia mente'), or to *leggiadra* (§ 33, l. 6), or to *vaga* (§ 34, l. 6), or to *unica* (§ 40, l. 4 'questa unica Beatrice'). Again, for *salute* the censor has substituted in one passage *quiete* (§ 3, l. 41 'la donna della quiete'), in another *dolcezza* (§ 11, l. 3), and in a third *donna* (§ 11, l. 18), which last has been adopted in several modern editions, including the *Oxford Dante*, although all the MSS. read *salute*. In like manner *beatitudine* is replaced seven times out of twelve by *felicità* (§ 3, l. 14; § 5, l. 4; § 9, l. 12; § 18, ll. 35, 38, 49, 59); twice by *quiete* (§ 10, l. 16; § 11, l. 27); and elsewhere by *chiarezza* (§ 11, l. 21), or by *allegrezza* (§ 12, l. 2), or by *fermezza* (§ 18, l. 38). While *beato* is either omitted altogether, as where Dante speaks of 'quella nobilissima e beata anima' (§ 23, l. 61), or of 'questa Beatrice beata' (§ 29, l. 11), or else it is altered to *contento* (§ 23, l. 83, 'o com' è contento colui che ti vede').

On occasion, however, the tampering with the text is of a much more serious nature. For instance, at the beginning of § 22 a whole sentence has been radically altered. Where Dante wrote 'Siccome piacque al glorioso Sire, lo quale non negò la morte a sè', the censor prints 'Siccome piacque a quel vivace amore, il quale impresse questo affetto in me'! In § 26 (ll. 14–17) where Dante describes how people in the streets of Florence exclaimed of Beatrice as she passed by,

[1] In his critical edition of the *Vita Nuova*, published by the *Società Dantesca Italiana* (Firenze, 1907), p. lxxix.

'Questa non è femmina, anzi è uno de' bellissimi angeli del cielo', the censor has thought it necessary to substitute 'anzi è simile a uno de' bellissimi angeli'.

Still more serious are the suppressions, affecting as they do some of the most beautiful passages in the book. In § 23 the words 'Osanna in excelsis', chanted by the angels who receive the soul of Beatrice, are omitted, and their place is supplied by dots. In § 24 the reference to St. John the Baptist, 'quel Giovanni, lo quale precedette la verace luce, dicendo: *Ego vox clamantis in deserto: parate viam Domini*', which is introduced in order to explain the connexion between the names 'Giovanna' and 'Primavera', is ruthlessly cut out; as is the touching cry in the words of Jeremiah from the *Lamentations*: 'Quomodo sedet sola civitas plena populo! facta est quasi vidua domina gentium', by which the narrative is interrupted (in § 29) when Dante comes to record the death of Beatrice. These words occur a second time a little later on (in § 30), and are again omitted by the censor; but by an oversight he has allowed Dante's twice-repeated reference to 'le allegate parole' to remain in the text, whereby he has thrown the whole paragraph into confusion.

The last, and in some respects the most cruel and senseless, mutilation of the text occurs in the closing sentence of the book. Dante, after expressing the hope that he may be spared to write that concerning Beatrice, which has never yet been written of any woman, concludes in these words: 'E poi piaccia a Colui, che è Sire della cortesia, che la mia anima se ne possa gire a vedere la gloria della sua donna, cioè di quella benedetta Beatrice, la quale gloriosamente mira nella faccia di Colui, *qui est per omnia saecula benedictus. Amen.*' The censor has destroyed the whole significance of this impressive passage by cutting out the reference to Beatrice in the last lines, so as to read 'E poi piaccia a Colui, che è Sire della cortesia, che la mia anima se ne possa gire a vedere la gloria di Colui, *qui est per omnia saecula benedictus*'.

Such treatment of a book is indeed like 'raking through the entrails of an author', as Milton puts it,[1] 'with a violation

[1] In the *Areopagitica*.

worse than any could be offered to his tomb'! The outrage is all the more flagrant because in the dedicatory epistle prefixed to the book the reader is solemnly told that the *Vita Nuova*, 'operetta del famosissimo Poeta e Teologo Dante Alighieri, da esso Dante, e da altri riputata di non piccol valore', is one of those works, 'le quali ne migliorare, ne pareggiare si possono, bastando dir solamente essere opera di Dante'.

DANTE AND HALLEY'S COMET [1]

In a lecture at the Royal Institution on Dec. 27, 1913, the Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, Professor Turner, referred to the records of the periodical recurrence of Halley's comet. There is one such record which appears to have escaped the notice of astronomers—namely, that of Dante for the year 1301, a year in which the comet is noted as having been very conspicuous.[2]

In the course of a discussion as to the relations between the planet Mars and igneous vapours in the heavens, Dante says in his *Convivio*:

'Dice Albumassar, che l'accendimento di questi vapori significa morte di regi e trasmutamento di regni; perocchè sono effetti della signoria di Marte. . . . E in Fiorenza, nel principio della sua distruzione [i. e. at the time of the entry of Charles of Valois into the city, in November 1301], veduta fu nell'aere, in figura d'una croce, grande quantità di questi vapori seguaci della stella di Marte' (ii. 14, ll. 170 ff.).

Dino Compagni records the appearance of a fiery cross over the city on the same occasion, and states that he himself saw it:

'La sera aparì in cielo uno segno maraviglioso; il quale fu una croce vermiglia, sopra il palagio de' priori. Fu la sua lista ampia più che palmi uno e mezzo; e l'una linea era di lunghezza braccia xx in apparenza, quella a traverso uno poco minore; la quale durò per tanto spazio, quanto penasse uno cavallo a correre dua aringhi. Onde la gente che la vidde, e io che chiaramente la viddi, potemo comprendere che Iddio era fortemente contro alla nostra città crucciato' (*Cronica*, ii. 19).

Another contemporary chronicler, Giovanni Villani, describes the appearance as that of a comet with an immense trail, as of

[1] Reprinted, with additions, from *The Times*, December 31, 1913.

[2] The dates of the recurrence of the comet, from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries inclusive, were 1066, 1145, 1222, 1301, 1378, 1456; the marked variation in the intervals being due to planetary attraction.

smoke, behind it. He says it was visible from September till the following January:

'Nel detto anno [1301] del mese di settembre apparve in cielo una stella comata con grandi raggi di fummo dietro, apparendo la sera di verso il ponente, e durò infino al gennaio' (*Cronica*, viii. 48).

The phenomenon is also recorded by Ptolemy of Lucca and other contemporary writers.

DANTE AND THE WORD *HONORIFICABILITUDINITATIBUS*[1]

ATTENTION has been drawn of late to the word *honorificabilitudinitatibus* in connexion with the 'Baconian' theory as to the authorship of Shakespeare's plays. According to the 'initiated', this word, which occurs in the first scene of the fifth act of *Love's Labour's Lost* (Costard says to Moth: 'Thou art not so long by the head as *honorificabilitudinitatibus*'), if resolved according to the approved 'cryptogrammic' method, reveals Bacon as the author of the plays in the following sentence:

HI LUDI F. BACONIS NATI TUITI ORBI,

which is interpreted to mean 'These plays F. Bacon's offspring are preserved for the world'.[2]

It may be of interest to point out that Dante also makes special reference to the sesquipedalian length of this word. In chapter seven of the second book of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, after giving a number of examples of long words in Italian, ending with the eleven-syllabled *sovramagnificentissimamente*, he cites a yet longer one, namely *onorificabilitudinitate*, which, he observes, runs to twelve syllables. He then goes on to remark that this word in Latin, in two of its oblique cases, runs to thirteen syllables—'illud *onorificabilitudinitate*, quod duodena perficitur syllaba in vulgari, . . . in grammatica[3] tredena perficitur in duobus obliquis' (ll. 69–72). The Latin word, of course, is *honorificabilitudinitatibus*.[4]

[1] Reprinted, with additions, from *Literature*, April 9, 1898.

[2] See, for instance, Sir E. Durning-Lawrence's *Bacon is Shakespeare*, p. 93.

[3] That is, in Latin.

[4] As I pointed out in my *Dante Studies and Researches* (p. 113), this word was doubtless suggested to Dante by the *Magnae Derivationes* of Uguccione da Pisa, who says: 'Ab *honorifico*, *hic* et *hec honorificabilis*, *-le*, et *hec honorificabilitas*, *-tis* et *hec honorificabilitudinitas*, et est longissima dictio, que illo versu continetur: *Fulget honorificabilitudinitatibus iste*.'

Now, if the 'cryptogrammic' method be applied in this case, we get the following remarkable result:

UBI ITALICUS IBI DANTI HONOR FIT,

that is, 'Wherever there is an Italian, there honour is done to Dante'. Evidently, as 'Baconian' cryptogrammatists would argue, Dante, foreseeing that his authorship of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* would be disputed (as in fact it was, long and bitterly, in the sixteenth century), resorted to this expedient in order to place on record the fact that he was the author of the treatise, and at the same time to express his conviction that the day would assuredly come when he should no longer be without honour in the eyes of his own countrymen, as he felt himself to be when, as an exile, he penned the well-known pathetic passage in the first book of the *Convivio*[1]!

[1] Cap. iii, ll. 15-43.

A LATIN TRANSLATION OF THE *DIVINA COMMEDIA*

QUOTED IN

THE 'MYSTERIUM INIQUITATIS' OF DU PLESSIS MORNAY[1]

DU PLESSIS MORNAY, in his *Mysterium Iniquitatis sive Historia Papatus*, published at Saumur in 1611, and dedicated to King James I of England, has an interesting reference to Dante as an opponent of the Papacy. The passage, which is mentioned by Bayle in the notice of Dante inserted in the second edition (published in 1702) of his *Dictionnaire historique et critique*, runs as follows in the Saumur edition[2] of the *Mysterium*:

'Florebat et hoc tempore[3] Dantes Florentinus, pietatis et doctrinae laudem apud scriptores coaetaneos consequutus; Tractatum is scripsit, cui titulus *Monarchia*, in quo probat Papam Imperatore superiorem non esse, nihilque in imperium iuris habere; quod cum illa Clementina *Pastoralis*[4] ex diametro pugnat, qua utrumque Pontifex sibi praefractè arrogat. Eò etiam venit, ut dicat in Cantione de Purgatorii,[5]

Di hoggi mai che la Chiesa di Roma,
Per confonder in se due reggimenti
Cade nel fango e se bruta[5] *e la soma.*[6]

Constantini etiam donationem refutat, quae nec *de facto* fuerit unquam

[1] Reprinted, with additions, from *Bulletin Italien* (Oct.—Déc. 1907), vii. 277-80.

[2] Besides the edition of the Latin original published at Saumur in 1611, a French translation of the *Mysterium* was issued at the same place in the same year; and two more editions of the latter were published in the following year, one at Geneva, the other *sine loco*. An English translation, by Samson Lennard, was published in London, by Adam Islip, in 1612.

[3] That is, in the time of Pope Clement V.

[4] 'Decretalis illa, cui initium *Pastoralis*, in qua Clemens sese supra Imperatores longè extollit, quippe vicarium Regis Regum.'

[5] *Sic.* [6] *Purg.* xvi. 127-9.

nec *de iure* esse potuerit ; ideoque à quibusdam haereseos damnatus fuit ; *Sunt et tertii*, inquit, *quos Decretalistas vocant, Theologiae ac Philosophiae cuiuslibet inscii et expertes, qui suis Decretalibus*[1] *tota intentione innixi, de illarum praevalentia credo sperantes, Imperio derogant. Nec mirùm, cum iam audiverim quendam de illis dicentem et procaciter asserentem ; Traditiones Ecclesiae fidei esse fundamentum. Quod quidem nefas, de opinione mortalium sibi*[2] *submoveant, qui ante Traditiones Ecclesiae in Filium Dei Christum sive venturum, sive praesentem, sive iam passum crediderunt, et credendo speraverunt, et sperantes charitate arserunt, et ardentes, ei cohaeredes futuros*[3] *esse mundus non dubitat.*[4]

'In poemate de Paradiso Italica lingua conscripto conquaeritur, quod Papa ex pastore in lupum evaserit, et oves Christi à vera via diverterit ; Propterea Evangelium deseri, Patrum scripta negligi, solis Decretalibus incumbi, de Nazareto, ubi Gabriel alas suas expandit, neminem cogitare, Vaticanum tantùm et alia selectiora Romae loca à Papa et Cardinalibus attendi. Et haec, inquit, militiae Christi, cui nomen dederat Petrus, coemeterium fuerunt[5] ; cuius interim doctrinam Romae verè sepeliverunt. Olim illatum Ecclesiae gladio bellum ; inferri iam fame, sublato pane illo quem Deus, ei alendae, dederat, quem nemini denegat,[6] nempe verbi divini praedicatione ; *At tu*, inquit, Papam ipsum compellans, *qui per Cancellarium tantùm scribis*,

Cogita Petrum et Paulum, qui mortem oppetivere,
Propter vineam, quam vastas, etiamnum vivere.
Potes tu quidem dicere, firmum habeo desiderium
Sic ad eum, qui voluit vivere solus,
Quique per saltus fuit pertractus ad supplicium,
At qui nec piscatorem agnosco nec Paulum.[7]

Alio loco, indignum esse edisserit, quod Scriptura divina, aut omnino à tergo relinquatur, aut violenter torqueatur ; Nec attendi quanto cum sanguine in orbe seminata fuerit, quam grata sit ei, qui illam cum humilitate accedit ; Contrà, unumquemque in suis commentis sibi plaudere, Evangelium verò taceri[8] ; In cathedra toto anno vanas quaestiones, meras fabulas personare, oviculas interim hoc vento pastas tabescere[9] ; Et multa alia ex eo adduci possent, in indulgentias Papae et Ecclesiae Romanae

[1] Du Plessis omits Dante's parenthesis here ('quas profectò venerandas existimo').

[2] The *editio princeps* (Basileae, MDLIX) of the *De Monarchia*, whence this passage is taken, reads *illi*.

[3] So *ed. prin.* ; modern editors read *factos*.

[4] *Mon* iii. 3, ll. 53-69.

[5] *Par.* ix. 131-40.

[6] *Par.* xviii. 127-9.

[7] *Par.* xviii. 130-6. In the margin Du Plessis prints the reference to 'Dante del Paradiso C. 9 et 29 ; del Purgatorio C. 32'.

[8] *Par.* xxix. 89-96.

[9] *Par.* xxix. 104-7.

abusus, quam ita depingit, ut cuivis facilè liqueat, in ea se meretricem illam Apocalypticam probè agnoscere.'[1]

[1] Pp. 435-6. This passage is Englished as follows by Samson Lennard in his *Mysterie of Iniquitie . . . By Philip Morney, Knight, Lord du Plessis* (London, 1612): '*Dant* the Florentine Poet flourished also in that time, who amongst the writers of the same age obtained the prayse both of pietie and learning: hee writ a Tractate, whose title was *Monarchia*, wherein he proved, that the Pope was not superiour to the Emperor, having no right nor prerogative over the same; which is diametrally opposit to that Clementine, *Pastoralis*, wherein the Pope peremptorily arrogates to himselfe both the one and the other: hee proceeding thus much further, when in his Canto of Purgatorie he sayes,

Di hoggi mai che la Chiesa di Roma,
Per confonder in se due reggimenti
Cade nel fango e se bruta e la soma.

The Church of Rome which now with needs confound
And joyne in one two divers governements,
Her selfe defiles in dirt, and brings her keyes to ground.

He refutes also the donation of *Constantine*, that it neither was *de facto*, nor could be *de iure*, and therefore by some he was condemned of heresie: *There are a third sort* (saith he) *whom they call Decretalists, ignorant and unlearned in all Divinitie and Philosophie, who cleaving absolutely to their Decretalls, putting all their hope, as I suppose, in the vigour and force of them, they derogate from the Empire: And no marvell, when I have heard one of them say, and constantly averre, That the traditions of the Church were the foundation of faith: which wicked opinion and beleefe let them banish away far from them, those men, I meane, which before the traditions of the Church did beleeve in Christ the Sonne of God, either to come, present or past, and so beleeving they hoped, and hoping were enflamed with charitie, and being thus divinely enflamed, the world makes no doubt but they shall be coheires with him.*' In his Poeme of Paradise, written in Italian, he complaines, That the Pope of a Pastor was become a Wolfe, and diverted Christs sheepe out of the true way, and therefore the Gospell was forsaken, the writing of the Fathers neglected; they relied onely on Decretals, no man thinkes on Nazareth, where *Gabriel* displayes his wings, but the Popes and Cardinals only repaire to the Vatican, and some other selected places of Rome. These things (saith he) were the absolute eversion of Christs warfare imposed upon *Peter*, whose pure doctrine in the meane while lyes deepely buried at Rome. In times past war was made upon the Church by the sword, but now the same is inflicted by a famine, that is, by taking away the bread which God allotted for the nourishment thereof, this being denyed to no man, which is the preaching of the holie word: *But thou* (saith he) *addressing his speech to the Pope, which by the Chancellor onely writeth thus:*

Cogita Petrum et Paulum. qui mortem oppetivere etc.

In another place he delivers what an unworthie thing it was, that the holie Scriptures were either wholly layd apart, or violently perverted: That there was no consideration had with how much bloud they were planted in the world, and how highly they accept of him that comes to them in humilitie of heart and spirit: Whereas on the other side everie man applauded himselfe in

Apart from the interest of this passage as asserting the claim of Dante to be regarded as a forerunner of the Reformation—a claim which had been made in England more than forty years before by Bishop Jewel in his *Defence of the Apologie of the Church of England* (1567), and by John Foxe in the second edition of his *Book of Martyrs* (1570)—the passage as it runs in the original Latin has a special interest of its own.

Du Plessis Mornay's quotations from Dante are of three kinds. He begins by quoting three lines from the *Purgatorio* in Dante's own words in the Italian; he then gives a *verbatim* extract from the *De Monarchia*—these *verbatim* quotations being printed in italics. He next proceeds to give a paraphrase (in roman type) of two passages from the *Paradiso* ('in poemate de Paradiso Italica lingua conscripto'); then he quotes seven lines from the *Paradiso* in a line for line prose Latin translation, which he prints in italics; and finally he paraphrases (in roman type again) two more passages from the *Paradiso*. His line for line translation, which is a rendering of *Paradiso* xviii. 130–6, is printed above. It is possible, of course, that this translation, which contains a curious misrendering,[1] may be Du Plessis' own—but from the fact that he prints the passage in italics, like the previous *verbatim* quotations, it seems not unlikely that he is quoting from some Latin translation of the *Commedia* which was current at the time. Such a translation was available in manuscript in the version made by Giovanni da Serravalle in 1416–17 during the Council of Constance; but a comparison of Serravalle's rendering of the above passage with that quoted by Du Plessis

his owne Fictions and Comments, but the Gospell was buried in silence. The publike chayres and Oratories resounded nothing all the yeare long but vaine questions, and meere fables; and so the poore sheep being fed with the puffes of wind, pined and consumed away: with many other things which might bee produced out of his workes, against the Popes Indulgences, and the abuses of the Roman Church, the which he so lively describes, that one may most easily perceive how he plainly acknowledged her to be that Whore in the Apocalyps' (pp. 444-5).

[1] 'Per Cancellarium' in the first line, as if the original were 'per cancelliere', instead of 'per cancellare'.

proves that the two are not identical, though there are close verbal coincidences between them. Serravalle's version runs:

> Sed tu qui solum propter cancellare scribis,
> Cogita quod Petrus et Paulus, qui mortui sunt
> Pro vinea quam destruis, adhuc sunt vivi.
> Bene potes dicere: Ego habeo firmum desiderium
> Ita ad illum qui voluit vivere solus,
> Et qui per saltus fuit tractus ad martyrium,
> Quod ego non cognosco Piscatorem neque Paulum.

That a line for line Latin translation in prose of the *Divina Commedia*, also closely resembling, but not identical with, that of Serravalle, was current in the seventeenth century, I pointed out in the *Athenaeum* some years ago.[1] This translation is quoted by Stillingfleet in the second book of his *Origines Sacrae* (published in 1663). He cites from it four different passages, some fourteen lines in all, from the twenty-fourth canto of the *Paradiso*. The resemblances and differences between the version quoted by Stillingfleet, which he ascribes to a certain F. S., and that of Serravalle, are very much of the same kind as in the case of Serravalle's version and that quoted by Du Plessis Mornay. It is quite possible therefore that Du Plessis and Stillingfleet were quoting from one and the same translation. I am unable to prove this unfortunately, because none of the passages quoted by Stillingfleet happens to coincide with the quotation of Du Plessis. It is to be hoped that further evidence may be forthcoming which will enable us to identify the translation or translations in question, which, it may be observed, have hitherto altogether escaped the notice of the bibliographers.

[1] See below, pp. 127–30.

A LATIN TRANSLATION OF THE *DIVINA COMMEDIA* QUOTED BY STILLINGFLEET[1]

In his note on line 88 of the twenty-fourth canto of the *Paradiso* Cary quotes an extract from the *Origines Sacrae*[2] of Bishop Stillingfleet, in which the following passage occurs:

'Those verses of the poet Dantes, rendered into Latin by F. S., are very pertinent and significant; for when he had introduced the Apostle Peter, asking him what it was which his faith was founded on, he answers

Deinde exivit ex luce profunda
Quae illic splendebat pretiosa gemma,
Super quam omnis virtus fundatur.

I. e., that God was pleased by immediate revelation of himself to discover that divine truth to the world whereon our faith doth stand as on its sure foundation; but when the Apostle goes on to enquire how he knew this at first came from God, his answer to that is,

Larga pluvia
Spiritus Sancti, quae est diffusa
Super veteres et super novas membranas
Est syllogismus ille qui eam mihi conclusit
Adeo acute, ut prae illa demonstratione
Omnis demonstratio alia mihi videatur obtusa.

I. e., that the spirit of God doth so fully discover itself both in the Old and New Testament, that all other arguments are but dull and heavy if compared with this.' (Book II, chap. ix, sect. 19, § 4.)

Again, in his note on line 106 of the same canto Cary quotes another extract from the same work:

'We cannot conceive how the world should be at first induced to believe without manifest and uncontrouled miracles. For, as Chrysostom

[1] Reprinted from *Athenaeum*, November 30, 1901.

[2] First published in 1663, at which time Stillingfleet was Rector of Sutton in Bedfordshire.

speaks. . . . It was the greatest miracle of all, if the world shou'd believe without miracles. Which the poet Dantes hath well expressed in the twenty-fourth canto of Paradise. For when the Apostle is there brought in, asking the Poet upon what account he took the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament to be the Word of God; his answer is,

> Probatio quae verum hoc mihi recludit,
> Sunt opera, quae secuta sunt, ad quae Natura
> Non candefecit ferrum unquam aut percussit incudem.

I. e., the evidence of that is the Divine Power of miracles which was in those who deliver'd those things to the world. And when the Apostle catechiseth him further, how he knew those miracles were such as they pretended to be, viz., that they were true and divine; his answer is,

> Si orbis terrae sese convertit ad Christianismum
> Inquiebam ego, sine miraculis; hoc unum
> Est tale, ut reliqua non sint eius centesima pars.

I. e., if the world shou'd be converted to the Christian faith without miracles, this would be so great a miracle that others were not to be compared with it.' (Book II, chap. x, sect. 5, § 1.)

Stillingfleet, as Cary observes, has not altogether understood the passages he has taken from Dante. The question, however, is, What is the Latin version of the *Commedia* from which Stillingfleet is quoting? Who is F. S.? Colomb de Batines, in his *Bibliografia Dantesca* (i. 247), mentions two Latin translations, both of the fifteenth century, one by Fra Giovanni da Serravalle, the other anonymous. From what is said of the latter of these by Viviani, who occasionally quotes it in his edition of the *Divina Commedia* (Udine, 1823), there is not much likelihood of its being the version utilized by Stillingfleet. On the other hand, the version of Giovanni da Serravalle, which has been printed (Prato, 1891) from the Vatican MS., and of which the British Museum possesses a MS. (Egerton 2629, bought at the Wodhull sale in 1886), bears a close resemblance to that quoted by Stillingfleet. The corresponding passages from the printed edition of Serravalle's translation run as follows:

> Prope hoc exivit de illa luce profunda
> Que ibi splendebat: Istum carum iocale
> Super quo omnis virtus fundatur. . . .

Larga pluvia
Spiritus Sancti, que est diffusa
Super veteribus et novis coriis
E[s]t syllogismus qui michi illam conclusit
Acute sic, quod respectu illius
Omnis demonstratio appareret michi obtusa.
. . . . . .
Probatio, que michi verum dissolvit,
Sunt opera sequuta, ad que natura
Non calefecit ferrum unquam, nec percussit incudem.
. . . . . .
Si mundus convertit se ad Christianismum,
Dixi ego, sine miraculis, hoc est unum
Et tale, quod alia non sunt centesimum.

I am able to state that the reading of the British Museum MS. is practically identical with this. Where Stillingfleet's version differs from that of Serravalle is chiefly in the substitution of more classical terms for the literal renderings of the fifteenth-century translator, a substitution due perhaps to the scholarly instincts of the learned divine. Thus 'carum iocale' (representing Dante's 'cara gioia') is replaced by 'pretiosa gemma'; 'super veteribus et novis coriis' (Dante's 'cuoia') by 'super veteres et super novas membranas'; 'appareret mihi obtusa' (Dante's 'mi pare ottusa') by 'mihi videatur obtusa'; 'dissolvit' (Dante's 'dischiude') by 'recludit'; and so on.

In the absence, therefore, of any other known version, it seems not unreasonable to conclude that the rendering into Latin by F. S. quoted by Stillingfleet is none other than the Latin translation of the *Commedia* made by Fra Giovanni da Serravalle (Frater Serravallensis?) in 1416–17 at the instance of two English bishops (viz. Nicholas Bubbewyth, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Robert Hallum, Bishop of Salisbury), during the session of the Council of Constance. What makes this the more probable is the fact that where Stillingfleet has gone astray as to Dante's meaning (viz. in *Paradiso* xxiv. 88–91) there is a similar confusion in the rendering of Serravalle—at any rate, as given in the British Museum MS. It will be observed that Stillingfleet puts a full stop at 'fundatur' (at the end of line 90), whereas in the original the sentence is

carried on into the next *terzina*. This same blunder occurs in the British Museum MS., in which a fresh sentence (beginning with the words 'et subiunxit') commences after 'fundatur'. Though this blunder does not occur in the printed text of the Vatican MS. (owing perhaps to a correction of the editor), it seems to be implied in the accompanying commentary, for which Serravalle was responsible as well as for the translation.

If the version quoted by Stillingfleet prove not to be identical with that of Serravalle, we must conclude that he had access to some translation [1] (possibly in his own library, for he had a very fine collection of books and MSS.) which has hitherto escaped the notice of the bibliographers.

[1] For a Latin translation, perhaps the same, utilized by Du Plessis Mornay in his *Mysterium Iniquitatis*, see preceding article.

AN APOCRYPHAL VENICE EDITION OF THE *DIVINA COMMEDIA*[1]

COLOMB DE BATINES, in his *Bibliografia Dantesca*, under the date 1584 mentions an edition of the *Divina Commedia*, printed at Venice, with the following title: *Opera poetica cum Commentario Christ. Landini, Italice.* In a note appended to this entry he states that this edition is registered by Watt on the authority of the *Bibliotheca Bodleiana.* Watt certainly includes this title in his list in the article on Dante in his *Bibliotheca Britannica* (i. 284 *r*), but he does not give his authority for it. However, there is little doubt that the appearance of this item in Watt's list was due, directly or indirectly, to an entry in an early Bodleian Catalogue. As a matter of fact there is no such thing as an edition of the *Divina Commedia* printed at Venice in 1584.

In 1603 Sir Michael Dormer (as he became in the following year) presented to the newly founded Bodleian Library a copy of the *Divina Commedia,* with the commentary of Landino, printed at Venice in 1484. This appears in the first printed catalogue, issued in 1605 by Thomas James, Bodley's first librarian, as '*Dante* con com. di Landino. *Ven.* 1484'. The entry immediately preceding this is '*Dante* con com. di Christ. Landino. *Ven.* 1512'. In James's catalogues of 1613 (MS.) and 1620 (printed) these two entries are run into one, as follows: '*Dante* con com. di Christ. Landino. *Ven.* 1512, et *Ven.* 1484'. This arrangement of the dates no doubt led to the substitution by a subsequent cataloguer of 1584 for 1484. At any rate in Thomas Hyde's Bodleian Catalogue of 1674, the edition of 1512 is once more entered separately, while that of 1484 has disappeared, its place being taken by 'Opera poetica, cum Comm. Chr. Landini, Italicé. *Ven.* 1584'. This

[1] Reprinted from *Bulletin Italien* (Avril—Juin 1907), vii. 85-6.

entry reappears in the Bowles-Fysher Bodleian Catalogue of 1738, whence no doubt it found its way into Watt's *Bibliotheca Britannica*, and so into Colomb de Batines' *Bibliografia Dantesca*.

The title *Opera poetica* given by the cataloguer to this apocryphal edition is accounted for by the circumstance that the 1512 edition (with which the 1484 edition was previously coupled in the catalogue) bears the unusual title *Opere del divino Poeta Danthe* on the title-page, to indicate that besides the *Commedia* the volume contains the *Credo*, *Pater nostro*, and *Ave Maria* attributed to Dante.

Dante collectors therefore who may have lamented their failure to secure a copy of the '1584 Venice edition' of the *Divina Commedia* may console themselves with the assurance that its absence does not render their collection incomplete.

THE EARLIEST ENGLISH ILLUSTRATORS OF DANTE[1]

'THERE is probably no writer in any language', observes Macaulay,[2] 'who has presented so many strong pictures to the mind as Dante'; and elsewhere[3] he says, 'his poetry is picturesque beyond any that ever was written. Its effect approaches to that produced by the pencil or the chisel.' This characteristic of the *Divina Commedia* at an early date attracted Italian artists. Giotto is reputed to have drawn inspiration from Dante for some of the subjects of his frescoes at Padua, Naples, and Assisi: while Bernardo Orcagna's great fresco of Hell in the Strozzi chapel of Santa Maria Novella at Florence, which was painted within forty years of Dante's death, follows Dante so closely that it may almost rank as an illustration of the poem. At the close of the next century Luca Signorelli painted in the Cappella della Madonna of the Cathedral of Orvieto, in continuation of the work of Fra Angelico, eleven arabesques in *grisaille*, the subjects of which were taken from the first eleven cantos of the *Purgatorio*; and he also painted a 'Last Judgement' in the same chapel, some of the details of which are obviously derived from Dante.

To the illuminators of manuscripts in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the *Commedia* naturally offered a wide field for illustration; but, so far as can be ascertained, no artist of note set himself seriously to illustrate the poem until Botticelli undertook the task as a commission for one of the Medici family. Vasari informs us that Botticelli made illustrations to the *Inferno*, and caused them to be printed—'figurò lo

[1] Reprinted, with additions and corrections, from *Quarterly Review* (October 1909), CCXI. 395 417.

[2] In his Essay on Dante in *Criticisms on the Principal Italian Writers.*

[3] In his Essay on Milton.

Inferno e lo mise a stampa'; and there can be no reasonable doubt that the plates, nineteen in number, which accompany certain special copies of the first Florentine edition of the *Commedia* (1481), were engraved from his designs. It was probably for purely technical reasons that no more of Botticelli's designs were utilized for this edition. That the artist practically completed the whole series was known from the statement of an anonymous writer of the sixteenth century, who, in his *Notizie de' Pittori Fiorentini da Cimabue a Michelangelo*, records that Botticelli 'dipinse e storiò un Dante in cartapecora a Lorenzo di Piero Francesco de' Medici, il che fu cosa maravigliosa tenuto'; that is, he painted and illustrated a copy of the *Commedia* on parchment, which was accounted a marvellous performance. This precious volume, of which Vasari evidently knew nothing, was lost sight of for several centuries; and its whereabouts remained unknown until it was at last discovered by Waagen, some sixty years ago, among the art treasures in the Duke of Hamilton's collection at Hamilton Palace. Waagen was only able to make a cursory inspection of the drawings, but at the Hamilton sale in 1882 the volume was purchased for the Berlin Museum; and a few years later the whole of the Hamilton drawings, together with eight others by the same hand discovered in the Vatican, which by some chance had become separated from the rest, were made accessible to the world at large in a facsimile reproduction published at Berlin.

Between 1586 and 1588 another Italian artist, Federigo Zucchero, illustrated the *Commedia* in a series of drawings on a large scale, which are preserved in the Uffizi at Florence; and at about the same time a Flemish artist domiciled in Italy, Hans van der Straet, better known by his Italianized name, Giovanni Stradano, made a number of drawings in illustration of the poem, which are now in the Laurentian Library at Florence, and of which a reproduction was published a few years ago.

A greater treasure than all of these, the mere record of which is a fact of some moment in connexion with the subject of this article, has unfortunately been lost irrecoverably. This

was a copy of the *Commedia* illustrated throughout by the hand of Michael Angelo, who, as is well known, was a profound student of Dante. The existence of this volume is attested by Giovanni Bottari (1689–1775), who, in one of the notes in his edition of Vasari, published in Rome in 1759, gives the following account of its loss, which took place in his lifetime.

'How close a student Buonarroti was of Dante may be seen from a copy of the *Commedia* of the first edition with the commentary of Landino (Florence, 1481), which belonged to him. This edition is in folio, on thick paper, with broad margins of half a span or more. On these margins he had drawn with a pen the whole contents of Dante's poem, representing great numbers of nude figures, most daringly conceived and admirably executed. This volume came into the hands of Antonio Montauti of Florence, an intimate friend of the celebrated Abate Anton Maria Salvini (1653–1729). Montauti, who was by profession a sculptor, and a very accomplished one, and who set great store by this volume, having been appointed architect-in-chief to the fabric of St. Peter's, was obliged to take up his residence at Rome. When he left Florence he gave instructions that all his marbles, bronzes, sketches, and other effects, should be sent after him by sea, in charge of one of his pupils, the copy of Dante being packed in one of the cases with the greatest possible care. Unhappily, however, the vessel on which they were shipped was cast away between Leghorn and Civita Vecchia, and all Montauti's belongings were lost, including, alas! this priceless volume, which of itself alone would have conferred distinction on the library of the greatest monarch on earth.'

The idea of illustrating the *Commedia* was no doubt suggested to Michael Angelo by the plates from the designs of Botticelli which were prepared for this very edition, and of which a certain number were actually printed and issued in particular copies as has already been mentioned.

Bottari's statement has been received with scepticism by certain modern critics, but there seems no sufficient reason for doubting its authenticity. Bottari was a contemporary of Montauti, who died about the year 1740, when the former was close on fifty; and his account has every appearance of having been derived at first hand from Montauti himself. However, whether the story be true or not, it was at any rate unhesitatingly accepted till lately in Italy and elsewhere. Within five years of its publication by Bottari at Rome, it was repro-

duced in England in the *Annual Register*,[1] and there is very little doubt that it played an important part in directing the attention of English artists to the *Commedia* as a subject for illustration. Flaxman, for instance, on hearing from Crabb Robinson that Schlegel had commended him for preferring Dante to Milton for his designs, stated that he had three reasons for choosing Dante: 'First, he was unwilling to interfere with Fuseli, who had made choice of Milton; second, Milton supplies few figures, while Dante abounds in them; and third, he had heard that Michael Angelo had made a number of designs in the margin of a copy of Dante.'

The story, which was repeated by Duppa in his *Life of Michael Angelo*, obtained wide currency in England. Coleridge mentions it in his lecture on Dante, in connexion with 'the picturesqueness, beyond that of all other poets, modern or ancient', of the poet of the *Divina Commedia*; and Byron alludes to it in his *Prophecy of Dante*, where he makes Dante say of Michael Angelo, 'The stream of his great thoughts shall spring from me'; a prediction which, as Byron explains in a note, was suggested to him by the fact of his 'having read somewhere (he could not recollect where) that Dante was so great a favourite of Michael Angelo's that he had designed the whole of the *Divina Commedia*; but that the volume containing these studies was lost by sea'.

Besides these drawings from the *Commedia*, Michael Angelo was credited with having made a bas-relief, after Dante, representing the death of Ugolino and his sons in the Tower of Famine at Pisa. A cast of this bas-relief, the original of which is preserved in the Casa Gherardesca at Florence, was brought to England at the beginning of the eighteenth century by an historical painter of the name of Trench, who showed it to Richardson the artist; and it was afterwards seen by Joseph Warton, as we learn from a note in the first volume of his *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*.[2]

[1] For the year 1764 (vol. vii, p. 272).

[2] First published in 1756. He says, with reference to the story of Count Ugolino: 'Michael Angelo from a similarity of genius was fond of Dante. Both were great masters in the *Terrible*. M. Angelo made a Bas-relief on this subject, which I have seen' (ed. 1806, p. 253).

To this bas-relief was indirectly due the awakening of the interest in Dante which manifested itself in the eighteenth century in English literature, and subsequently in English art. The actual originator of this movement, both in art and in literature, was Jonathan Richardson the portrait-painter, the artist already mentioned, who, in Horace Walpole's opinion, 'was undoubtedly one of the best English painters of a head that had appeared in this country'. Richardson, who was born in 1665 and died in 1745, was a recognized authority on art in his day, not only in England, but also on the Continent; indeed Dr. Johnson [illegible], perhaps not altogether kindly, that he was better known by his books than his pictures. 'He wrote with fire and judgment' (says Walpole), 'and was full of the theory and profound in reflections on his art.' In one of his essays upon painting, published in 1719, to which he gave the cumbrous title of *A Discourse on the Dignity, Certainty, Pleasure, and Advantage of the Science of a Connoisseur*, Richardson develops a theory as to the relations between history, poetry, sculpture, and painting, his treatment of which had far-reaching effects in promoting the study of Dante in England.

By way of illustration he selected the Ugolino episode from the *Divina Commedia*—a choice which was suggested to him by the circumstance mentioned above, which he himself narrates, namely, that a fellow-artist brought to his notice this bas-relief by Michael Angelo (as he supposed), representing the fate of the unhappy victims of the Archbishop Ruggieri. Being thus in possession of the sculptor's version of the story, by which he was evidently deeply impressed, Richardson was naturally directed to the original source whence the artist drew his inspiration, and so became acquainted with the famous narrative in the thirty-third canto of the *Inferno*. For the purposes of his essay Richardson gives a translation in blank verse of the entire passage,[1] which, save for three or four lines by Harington and Milton, and a few incidental renderings by earlier writers, is the first specimen

[1] See my *Dante in English Literature*, vol. i. pp. 198–9.

of translation from the *Divina Commedia* in English literature. The historical account of the events which led up to the imprisonment and death of the Count and his sons he took from the Florentine history of Giovanni Villani. These examples from the historian, the poet, and the sculptor, Richardson introduces with all the pride of a discoverer, as being 'very curious and very little known', as indeed they were at that date in England.

'The Great, and Chief Ends of Painting' (he writes) 'are to Raise, and Improve Nature; and to Communicate Ideas; not only Those which we may receive Otherwise, but Such as without this Art could not possibly be Communicated; whereby Mankind is advanced higher in the Rational State and made Better; . . . The business of Painting is not only to represent Nature, but to make the Best Choice of it; Nay to Raise, and Improve it from what is Commonly, or even Rarely Seen, to what never Was, or Will be in Fact, tho' we may easily conceive it Might be. . . . The business of History is a Plain, and Just relation of Facts; 'tis to be an Exact Picture of Humane Nature. Poetry is not thus confin'd, but provided Natural Truth is at the bottom Nature must be Heighten'd, and Improv'd, and the Imagination fill'd with Finer Images than the Eye Commonly sees, or in Some cases Ever can, whereby the Passions are more Strongly touch'd, and with a greater degree of Pleasure than by plain History. . . .

'Sculpture carries us yet farther than Poetry, and gives us Ideas that no Words can: Such Forms of things, such Airs of Heads, such Expressions of the Passions that cannot be describ'd by Language. It has been much disputed which is the most Excellent of the two Arts, Sculpture, or Painting. . . . The great Ends of both these Arts is to give Pleasure, and to convey Ideas, and that of the two which best answers Those Ends is undoubtedly preferable; And that this is Painting is Evident, since it gives us as great a degree of Pleasure, and all the Ideas that Sculpture can, with the Addition of Others; and this not only by the help of her Colours, but because she can express many things which Brass, Marble, or other Materials of that Art cannot, or are not so Proper for.

'I believe' (he continues) 'it will not be unacceptable to my Readers if I illustrate what I have been saying by Examples, and the rather because they are very Curious and very little Known.'

He then begins with a summary of Villani's account of the dealings between the Visconti of Pisa, the Gherardeschi, and the Ubaldini, which culminated with the treachery of Ruggieri and the imprisonment and cruel death of Ugolino. 'The Poet', he proceeds, 'carries this Story farther than the

Historian could, by relating what pass'd in the Prison'; and he then gives his translation of Ugolino's narrative—the first of a long series of English renderings of this famous episode, of which no less than seven belong to the eighteenth century.

'The Historian, and Poet' (he resumes) 'having done Their parts comes *Michelangelo Buonarotti*, and goes on in a *Bas-relief* I have seen in the hands of Mr. *Trench*, a Modest, Ingenious Painter, lately arriv'd from his long Studies in *Italy*. He shews us the Count sitting with his Four Sons, one dead at his Feet, Over their Heads is a Figure representing Famine, and underneath is another to denote the River *Arno*, on whose Banks this Tragedy was acted. *Michelangelo* was the fittest man that ever liv'd to Cut, or Paint this Story, if I had wish'd to see it represented in Sculpture, or Painting I should have fix'd upon this Hand; He was a *Dante* in his way, and he read him perpetually. . . . It would be ridiculous on this occasion to undertake to describe this admirable *Bas-relief*; 'tis enough for my present purpose to say there are Attitudes, and Airs of Heads so proper to the Subject, that they carry the Imagination beyond what the Historian, or Poet could possibly; for the rest I must refer to the thing itself.'

Richardson then offers some interesting suggestions for a painting of the scene.

'And could we see the same Story Painted by the same great Master it will be easily conceiv'd that this must carry the Matter still farther; There we might have had all the Advantages of Expression which the Addition of Colours would have given, and the Colouring of *Michelangelo* was as proper to That, as his Genius was to the Story in general; These would have shewn us the Pale, and Livid Flesh of the Dead, and Dying Figures, the Redness of Eyes, and Blewish Lips of the Count, the Darkness and Horrour of the Prison, and other Circumstances, besides the Habits (for in the *Bas-relief* all the Figures are Naked as more proper for Sculpture) These might be contrived so as to express the Quality of the Persons the more to excite our Pity, as well as to enrich the Picture by their Variety. Thus' (he concludes) 'History begins, Poetry raises higher, not by Embellishing the Story, but by Additions purely Poetical: Sculpture goes yet farther, and Painting Completes and Perfects.'[1]

Some doubt existed as to the rightful attribution to Michael Angelo of this bas-relief, which is now commonly assigned to Pierino da Vinci—a doubt which appears to have been shared subsequently by Richardson himself, though, at the time when

[1] Ed. 1719, pp. 12, 13, 20, 23-5, 25-6, 29, 32-3, 34-5.

he wrote the above essay, it is evident that he unhesitatingly accepted the work as from the hand of Michael Angelo. Charles Rogers, the eminent *virtuoso*, who published a translation of the *Inferno* in 1782—the first published English translation of the *Inferno* [1]—in a note to canto xxxiii, in which he quotes Richardson's remarks upon Ugolino and the bas-relief, says:

'Before we proceed further, it may not be improper to observe that Vasari (in his Life of Pierino da Vinci, nephew of Lionardo da Vinci, and an eminent sculptor, who worked in the Stile of Michelangelo) informs us that Pierino made a *Basso-relievo* of this subject in Wax,[2] and afterwards cast it in Bronze, in which the Sculptor moves not less pity than the Poet. From this many other Casts were afterwards taken in Plaister; and Mr. Richardson himself, in the French edition of his book, expresses some doubt of the Artist.' [3]

Vasari's account of Pierino's design, which differs in one or two details from Richardson's description of the bas-relief seen by him, is as follows:

'Pierino's attention having been drawn by a friend to Dante's description of the death of Count Ugolino and his four sons by starvation in the Torre della Fame, he set to work to make a design in wax . . . with the intention of casting it in bronze. In this design two of the sons of the Count are represented as lying dead,[4] a third is in the act of dying, and

[1] Translations had been made both by William Huggins, the translator of Ariosto, and by Dr. Burney, some twenty years before, but neither of these ever saw the light.

[2] What is believed to be the original wax design mentioned by Vasari is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, where there is also a plaster cast of the bas-relief. This bas-relief in wax was in the collection of William Hoare, R.A., the portrait-painter (1706-92), and afterwards in that of his son, Prince Hoare (1755-1834), whence it passed to Philip Bury Duncan, keeper of the Ashmolean Museum (1826-55), by whom it was presented to the University in 1841.

[3] The French edition of Richardson's work was published at Amsterdam in 1728. On p. 139 (vol. ii) Richardson says of the bas-relief: 'Je ne déciderai point si la Pièce est de Michel-Ange ou non; il me suffit de dire, qu'elle est excellente, et qu'elle lui convient, pour le Goût, et pour le Sujet; aussi me serois-je déterminé pour la main de ce Maître, si j'avois souhaité de la voir représentée.'

[4] Richardson's description says 'one son dead at his feet', which is in agreement with the bas-relief as figured in Lord Vernon's 'Dante' from the original in the Casa Gherardesca at Florence, and with the wax design men-

the fourth, exhausted by famine, is on the point of death, though not yet in the last agony, while the father, a piteous sight, overwhelmed with grief and misery, gropes blindly over the outstretched bodies of his hapless sons.[1] In this work Pierino displayed the powers of artistic composition in no less degree than Dante in his verses did those of poetry, for the figures modelled in wax by the sculptor make as powerful an impression on the beholders as do the words of the poet on those who listen to his vivid description of the scene. In order to indicate the locality where this tragedy was enacted, Pierino represented at the foot the figure of the river Arno, which occupies the whole width of the design, inasmuch as the Torre della Fame in Pisa is close to the river; and overhead he has placed a nude figure of a frightful withered old woman to represent Famine, somewhat after the fashion in which she is described by Ovid.'[2]

Fuseli, who, in one of his lectures on painting at the Royal Academy,[3] somewhat severely criticizes Pierino's design, and who himself subsequently painted a picture of Ugolino,[4] seems to have been under the impression that Michael Angelo had made a painting on the subject.

'We are told' (he says) 'that Michael Angelo represented the Ugolino of Dante, inclosed in the tower of Pisa; if he did, his own work is lost: but if, as some suppose, the basso relievo of that subject by Pierino da Vinci, be taken from his idea, notwithstanding the greater latitude, which the sculptor might claim, in divesting the figures of drapery and costume; he appears to me, to have erred in the means employed to rouse our sympathy. A sullen but muscular character, with groups of muscular bodies and forms of strength, about him, with the allegoric figure of the Arno at their feet, and that of Famine hovering over their heads, are not the fierce Gothic chief, deprived of revenge, brooding over despair in the stony cage; are not the exhausted agonies of a father, petrified by the helpless groans of an expiring family, offering their own bodies for his food, to prolong his life.'

tioned above (see p. 140, n. 2). The discrepancy is doubtless due to some lapse of memory on the part of Vasari.

[1] Here again Vasari's memory was at fault. In the bas-relief Ugolino, as Richardson correctly says, is seated, not 'groping blindly'.

[2] Vasari goes on to state that the design was cast in bronze; but there is no trace of any such work. It is pointed out that the highly-finished wax model, which was no doubt intended for the purpose of making a bronze cast, would have been destroyed in the process; consequently, it is probable that the design was never executed in bronze. (See Milanesi's edition of Vasari, vol. vi, p. 127, ed. 1881.)

[3] Lecture III, delivered in 1801 (see his *Life and Writings*, vol. ii. pp. 165-6).

[4] Exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1806—see below, pp. 148 ff.

Richardson's dissertation upon the story of Ugolino, and his translation of the episode from the *Inferno*, soon brought other translators into the field. Gray,[1] Baretti,[2] Joseph Warton,[3] and the Earl of Carlisle,[4] all published versions of the same episode,[5] Warton avowedly as a follower in the steps of Richardson. The subject thus became familiar; and in no long time was brought about the accomplishment of what Richardson had ardently desired to see, namely, a painting of the incident, which, according to his theory, should complete and crown the efforts in their various degrees of historian, poet, and sculptor. Charles Rogers, the translator of the *Inferno* already mentioned, after quoting Richardson's remarks as to the desirability of seeing the story painted, observes: 'What Mr. Richardson despaired of has been since performed by the, in every particular, transcendent President of the Royal Academy, whose Ideas are always great, and Execution expressive.' This reference, of course, was to Sir Joshua Reynolds, who, at the time when Rogers wrote (1782), had been President of the Royal Academy for fourteen years.

Upon no one did Richardson's essays on the theory of painting exercise a more profound and lasting influence than upon Reynolds. Dr. Johnson, speaking of the nature of genius, in his *Life of Cowley*, remarks: 'The true genius is a mind of large general powers, accidentally determined to some particular direction. The great painter of the present age [Sir Joshua Reynolds] had the first fondness for his art excited by the perusal of Richardson's treatise.' The character and extent of this influence, as to which all Reynolds's biographers are agreed, and which was in a sense also a personal one—for Reynolds was for two years a pupil of Richardson's pupil and son-in-law, Thomas Hudson—has been well expressed by Mrs. Jameson:

'Sir Joshua has said himself' (she writes) 'that the perusal, when a boy, of Richardson's book had made him a painter. . . . The boy who

[1] *c.* 1737.

[2] In 1753, in his *Dissertation upon the Italian Poetry.*

[3] In 1756, in his *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope.*

[4] Privately printed in 1772; published in 1773.

[5] See *Dante in English Literature*, vol. i, pp. 232–4, 261–2, 302–3, 334–6.

at eight years old was ever found with a pencil in his hand, copying prints from books; who, at the same age, had mastered the 'Jesuit's Perspective', would have been a painter in any case; but the perusal of Richardson's book at the age of fifteen or sixteen elevated and directed his boyish enthusiasm; it made him *the* painter which he afterwards became.'

Familiar as he was with Richardson's writings, Sir Joshua must have been well acquainted with the story of Ugolino many years before he painted his celebrated picture of the subject. But, though Richardson's discourse on Ugolino can hardly fail to have been present to his mind while he was painting it, the immediate suggestion for the picture does not seem to have come from Richardson. Richard Cumberland, in his *Memoirs*, published in 1806, states that Sir Joshua 'caught the subject of his famous Ugolino from Goldsmith'. James Northcote, however, who acted as one of Sir Joshua's assistants, and actually sat to him as a model for one of the young men in the Ugolino picture, says in his *Memoirs of Sir Joshua Reynolds* (1812) that Cumberland was perhaps not quite accurate in this assertion.

'The painting of Ugolino' (he notes) 'was finished in 1773, and begun, not long before, as an historical subject. The fact is, that this painting may be said to have been produced as an historical picture by an accident; for the head of the Count had been painted previous to the year 1771, and finished on what we painters call "a half-length canvas", and was, in point of expression, exactly as it now stands, but without any intention on the part of Sir Joshua of making it the subject of an historical composition, or having the story of Count Ugolino in his thoughts. Being exposed in the picture gallery, along with his other works, it was seen either by Mr. Edmund Burke or Dr. Goldsmith (I am not certain which), who immediately exclaimed, that it struck him as being the precise person, countenance, and expression of the Count Ugolino, as described by Dante in his "Inferno". . . . Sir Joshua immediately had his canvas enlarged in order that he might be enabled to add the other figures, and to complete his painting of the impressive description of the Italian poet. . . . The whole subject' (concludes Northcote) 'is well handled by Richardson, and may be read with pleasure, as relative to the picture, although written long before the idea started by Burke was accepted by Sir Joshua.'[1]

[1] Pp. 174 ff.

This picture—the first easel-picture, so far as can be ascertained, ever painted of a subject from Dante—was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1773. It is entered in the official catalogue as 'Count Hugolino and his children in the dungeon, as described by *Dante*, in the thirty-third canto of the *Inferno*'; and the following quotation from the *Commedia* is appended:

> Io non piangeva, sì dentro impetrai:
> Piangevan Elli, ed Anselmuccio mio
> Disse: Tu guardi sì, Padre! Che hai?
> Però non lagrimai, nè rispos' io
> Tutto quel giorno, nè la notte appresso.

Against this entry Horace Walpole, in his copy of the catalogue, has written 'most admirable'; and elsewhere he exclaims, 'In what age were paternal despair and the horrors of death pronounced with more expressive accents than in this picture of Count Ugolino?'[1] According to William Cotton, in his *Sir Joshua Reynolds and his Works*, it was generally supposed that the head of Count Ugolino was painted from a paviour of the name of White, who was also the model for Sir Joshua's 'Banished Lord'; but Horace Walpole, in a previous Academy catalogue (for 1771), opposite the description of a picture of an old man (half-length), noted: 'This was an old beggar who had so fine a head that Sir Joshua chose him for the father in his picture from Dante; and he painted him several times, as did others in imitation of Reynolds.' Walpole's statement was confirmed by Reynolds's great-niece, Miss Gwatkin, who informed Cotton that 'she always understood that the head of Ugolino was painted from a beggar'. Northcote told William Hazlitt that the figure for which he sat was that of one of the children—'the one in profile with the hand to the face'; and that it was while he was sitting for this purpose that he once saw Burke, who came into Sir Joshua's painting-room, presumably to watch the progress of the picture which he had himself suggested.[2]

This picture, which, to judge by the numerous references to it in contemporary literature, seems to have excited a quite

[1] In the Advertisement to vol. iv of *Anecdotes of Painting in England* (1780).

[2] See Hazlitt's *Collected Works*, vol. vi, p. 348.

unusual amount of interest, was purchased by the third Duke of Dorset, for what was in those days regarded as the very large sum of four hundred guineas, for his gallery at Knole. It was engraved in mezzotint by Dixon in the year (1774) following its exhibition at the Academy, and afterwards (1811) in line by Raimbach, whereby its fame was spread abroad throughout Europe. At Knole it was seen by John Wesley, who has left a quaint record of the circumstance in his *Journal*. On October 7, 1790, within six months of his death, he writes:

'We dined at Sevenoaks. After dinner we spent an hour in the Duke of Dorset's house. I could not but observe some change for the worse here. The silk covers are removed from several of the pictures, particularly that of Count Ugolino and his sons; and it is placed in a worse light, so that I could hardly discern the little boy, that when he saw his father gnawing his own arm for anguish, cried out: "Papa, if you are hungry, do not eat your own arm, but mine".'

The moment in the tragedy selected for representation by Reynolds is indicated by the lines quoted in the Academy catalogue from canto xxxiii of the *Inferno*. The Count is sitting in the prison with his hands clasped between his knees, staring stonily in front of him with a fixed expression of deep despair; his four sons are grouped around him; on the left the youngest, little Anselm, kneels at Ugolino's side, clinging to his arm, and looking up piteously into his father's face—'Tu guardi sì, Padre! Che hai?'—on the right another son, supporting in his arms a third who is dying, tries to attract the Count's attention; while behind stands the eldest covering his face with his hands. In the background is a heavily-barred window through which the light is thrown upon the grouped figures. No attempt is made at historical accuracy in the matter of costume.[1] The Count wears a cloak edged with fur, over a loose vest drawn round him in folds—practically the

[1] Reynolds perhaps bore in mind Richardson's remark (in his 'Essay on the Whole Art of Criticism as it relates to Painting') on a picture of Tancred and Erminia (from Tasso) by Poussin: 'The Habits are not those of the Age in which the Scene of the fable is laid: these must have been *Gothick*, and Disagreeable.'

identical costume in which the same model is represented in the picture of the 'Banished Lord'—while the sons are clothed in nondescript garments of anything but mediaeval appearance.

Though the 'Ugolino' was received with enthusiasm by Sir Joshua's immediate contemporaries, it failed to please a later generation. Charles James Fox, not long before his death, told Samuel Rogers that the picture gave him no pleasure; and Byron classed it among Sir Joshua's failures. By Charles Lamb and Hazlitt it was severely criticized. In his 'Essay on the Genius and Character of Hogarth', Lamb speaks of Reynolds's 'Ugolino' and 'Death of Cardinal Beaufort' as the 'Staring' and the 'Grinning Despair'; and in a notice of the Reynolds exhibition at the British Institution in 1813 he says:

'The great historical compositions, where the Artist was at liberty to paint from his own idea—the Beaufort and the Ugolino—I must confess, have not left any very elevating impressions upon my mind. Pardon a ludicrous comparison. . . . Placed opposite to each other as they are at the Gallery, as if to set the one work in competition with the other, they did remind me of the famous contention for the prize of deformity, mentioned in the 173rd number of the "Spectator". The one stares and the other grins; but is there common dignity in their countenances?'

Hazlitt, who, in an article in the *Edinburgh Review*,[1] refers to the Ugolino as a subject 'of which Michael Angelo made a bas-relief, and which Sir Joshua Reynolds ought not to have painted', writes of the picture as follows in his 'Essay on the Fine Arts':

'The highest subject which Sir Joshua has attempted was the "Count Ugolino"; and it was, as might be expected from the circumstances, a total failure. He had, it seems, painted a study of an old beggar-man's head; and some person, who must have known as little of painting as of poetry, persuaded the unsuspecting artist that it was the exact expression of Dante's Count Ugolino, one of the most grand, terrific and appalling characters in modern fiction. Reynolds, who knew nothing of the matter but what he was told, took his good fortune for granted, and only extended his canvas to admit the rest of the figures, who look very much like apprentices hired to sit for the occasion from some neighbouring work-

[1] For June 1815, vol. xxv, p. 48—afterwards embodied in his *Lectures on the English Poets* (see *Collected Works*, vol. v, pp. 15 ff.).

shop. There is one pleasing and natural figure of a little boy kneeling at his father's feet, but it has no relation to the supposed story. The attitude and expression of Count Ugolino himself are what the artist intended them to be, till they were pampered into something else by the officious vanity of friends—those of a common mendicant at the corner of a street, waiting patiently for some charitable donation. There is all the difference between what the picture is and what it ought to be, that there is between Crabbe and Dante. The imagination of the painter took refuge in a parish workhouse, instead of ascending the steps of the Tower of Famine. The hero of Dante is a lofty, high-minded, but unprincipled Italian nobleman, who had betrayed his country to the enemy, and who, as a punishment for his crime, is shut up with his four sons in the dungeon of the citadel, where he shortly finds the doors barred upon him, and food withheld. He in vain watches with eager feverish eye the opening of the door at the accustomed hour, and his looks turn to stone; his children one by one drop down dead at his feet; he is seized with blindness, and, in the agony of despair, he gropes on his knees after them, "Calling each by name For three days after they were dead". Even in the other world he is represented with the same fierce, dauntless, unrelenting character, "gnawing the skull of his adversary, his fell repast". . . . What is there in the picture to convey the ghastly horrors of the scene, or the mighty energy of soul with which they are born?'[1]

In spite, however, of these severe strictures on the part of professed critics, the general popularity of the picture was such that a writer in the *Quarterly Review* for January 1823 was led to assert that 'Dante was brought into fashion in England by Sir Joshua Reynolds's Ugolino'—certainly an exaggeration, though there can be no doubt that the picture did much to stimulate the interest in Dante in this country, the revival of which, as we have seen, was due, not to Reynolds, but to his first teacher and master, Jonathan Richardson.

The next artist in England after Reynolds to paint a subject from Dante was Henry Fuseli, a naturalized Swiss, who was encouraged by Reynolds to study art, and who eventually became professor of painting and keeper at the Royal Academy. While in Rome in 1777 Fuseli made several sketches in monochrome in illustration of scenes from the *Commedia*, the originals of which are now preserved in the Print Room at the British Museum. These drawings, six in number, the subjects of which are taken, four from the *Inferno*

[1] See Hazlitt's *Literary Remains*, pp. 400-1.

(Paolo and Francesca, canto v; Dante, Farinata, and Cavalcante de' Cavalcanti, canto x; Lano and Jacomo da Sant' Andrea in the wood of suicides, canto xiii; Dante and Count Ugolino in Cocytus, canto xxxii), and two from the *Purgatorio* (studies for Belacqua and his companions, canto iv; the fate of Buonconte da Montefeltro after his death, canto v), show that Fuseli had made himself familiar with the poem, though his details (as in the sketch of Farinata and Cavalcante) are not always scrupulously accurate. One of the most finished of these drawings is that of Dante listening to the tale of Count Ugolino on the ice of Cocytus, with the two brothers Alessandro and Napoleone degli Alberti butting their heads together, 'like two he-goats', in the distance, and, above, the feet of the giant Antaeus (who had lowered Dante and Virgil on to the ice) and of one of the other giant guardians of the ninth Circle of Hell.[1]

Fuseli, who was elected an Academician in 1790, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1786 a picture of the episode of Paolo and Francesca from the fifth canto of the *Inferno*,[2] an episode of which he had already made a study in Rome in 1777, from which study he painted a second picture more than thirty years later (1818). No details are available of either of these pictures, the whereabouts of which are unknown. It may be conjectured, however, from the Academy catalogue that the latter, to which the last line of the canto—'E caddi, come corpo morto cade'—was affixed as a motto, represented the close of the episode, when Dante swooned at the conclusion of Francesca's piteous tale.

In 1806 Fuseli in his turn exhibited at the Academy a picture of Ugolino.

'This picture' (observes his biographer, John Knowles) 'as it came in competition with that well-known subject from the pencil of Sir Joshua Reynolds, was admired and censured more than any other he had previously produced. Fuseli took the moment when Ugolino is petrified by

[1] This subject was one of those afterwards illustrated and engraved by William Blake (see below, p. 154).

[2] A picture of this same episode was exhibited at the Royal Academy seven years later (1803) by John Raphael Smith, the celebrated mezzotint engraver, who took to painting towards the end of his life.

his situation—"bereft of tears, his heart is turned to stone"; he has represented him in a sitting posture with his youngest son stretched dead over his knees, while the other three are either writhing under the agonies of hunger, dying, or given up to despair. This picture (now in my possession)[1] is as superior in drawing, in truth to nature placed under such circumstances, and to the story, as Sir Joshua's soars above it in colour, in manual dexterity, and in chiaroscuro.'

In view of this comparison, the following criticism of Fuseli on Sir Joshua Reynolds's 'Ugolino' (written in 1813, when the picture was exhibited at the British Institution) is interesting:

'From whatever cause this face became that of Ugolino, whether its original were that of a noble or a pauper, it is a standard of grief; but, more habitual than sudden, the grief of one whom "sharp misery had long worn to the bones", not of him whom fortune's quick reverse dashed headlong on to despair. The manner in which he is grouped with his infant son, as it increases the contrast, adds to our sympathy, which is, however, obtained not only at the expense of the story, but of nature. The whole family were shut up together in the cage; and when the vigorous partners of the father in arms writhe in the agonies of hunger, or, unable to support themselves, droop in languor, is it natural to see a blooming stripling, unaffected by either, at his ease console the petrified father?'[2]

Contemporary criticism of Fuseli's picture was not favourable. In an article on the Royal Academy Exhibition, in *Bell's Weekly Messenger* for May 25, 1806, it was very severely handled. The critic finds fault with the composition, with the drawing, and with the colouring, but he betrays his own ignorance of the story by speaking of one of Ugolino's children as his daughter.[3]

'Before we enter upon our examination of this Picture' (he writes) 'it will be necessary to ask a question—What are the requisites which the Critic would expect to find in a composition of this sort? What would he exact from the Artist? what would his taste approve? what would satisfy his judgment? He would expect, in the conception of the story, that which should distinguish it from all other subjects, and give it that pecu-

[1] The present whereabouts of the picture is unknown.

[2] In *Life and Writings*, vol. i, p. 385.

[3] 'In the present groupe' (he says) 'Ugolino has the appearance of a man who, having in a fit of phrenzy destroyed the young female who lies across his knees, has just returned to a sense of reason and remorse at the act which he has perpetrated.'

liarity of character without which no work of the pencil can ever be rendered sufficiently decided to be original or lasting. When we examine the above Picture by this rule, we cannot admit that the story is so told as to place it among those permanent compositions which preclude from success every effort upon a similar subject.'

This article aroused the indignant wrath of Blake, a friend and admirer of Fuseli, who sent a characteristic protest to the *Monthly Magazine* (July 1, 1806).

'My indignation was exceedingly moved' (he writes to the editor) 'at reading a criticism in "Bell's Weekly Messenger" (25 May) on the picture of Count Ugolino, by Mr. Fuseli, in the Royal Academy Exhibition. . . . Such an artist as Mr. Fuseli is invulnerable; he needs not my defence; but I should be ashamed not to set my hand and shoulder, and whole strength, against those wretches who, under the pretence of criticism, use the dagger and the poison. My criticism on this picture is as follows:—Mr. Fuseli's Count Ugolino is the father of sons of feeling and dignity, who would not sit looking in their parent's face in the moment of his agony, but would rather retire and die in secret, while they suffer him to indulge his passionate and innocent grief, his innocent and venerable madness, and insanity and fury, and whatever paltry, cold-hearted critics cannot, because they dare not, look upon. Fuseli's Count Ugolino is a man of wonder and admiration, of resentment against man and devil, and of humiliation before God; prayer and parental affection fill the figure from head to foot. The child in his arms, whether boy or girl signifies not (but the critic must be a fool who has not read Dante, and who does not know a boy from a girl), I say the child is as beautifully drawn as it is coloured—in both, inimitable; and the effect of the whole is truly sublime on account of that very colouring which our critic calls black and heavy.'

These pictures of Fuseli's, it may be observed, have, curiously enough, been entirely overlooked by all who have written on the illustrations of Dante. The artist's name is not so much as mentioned, for instance, in the exhaustive works on *Iconografia Dantesca* by Bassermann, Kraus, and Volkmann, nor in the section devoted to the subject in the *Bibliografia Dantesca* of Colomb de Batines. This is the more curious, as the pictures, which were exhibited at the Academy, created no little sensation in their day; and it was suggested, even before the exhibition of his Ugolino, that Fuseli should undertake to make a 'gallery' of illustrations of the *Divina Commedia*, as he had already done for the works of Milton.

'Every illustration of Dante' (says a writer in the *Monthly Magazine* for August 1803), 'either graphic or otherwise, should be brought to light. I wish Mr. Fuseli could be prevailed on to supply the loss of the marginal drawings which Michael Angelo drew in his Dante. There is, perhaps, no artist living better qualified to wield the mighty pencil of that wonderful painter. A Dante Gallery by this great master—for so Mr. Fuseli deserves to be termed—could not fail of being highly interesting. Perhaps, too, the horrors of hell, depicted by him after Dante, would render a more important service to morality than all the thunders of the pulpit.'

What was here suggested as a task for Fuseli had, in fact, been already undertaken by another English artist. This was John Flaxman, the sculptor, who while at Rome, in the last decade of the eighteenth century, accepted a commission from Thomas Hope, afterwards of Deepdene, the well-known *virtuoso*, to make a series of illustrations from Dante, in the same style as his designs from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which had aroused great enthusiasm in artistic circles at Rome. Flaxman, who, as already mentioned, was attracted to the *Divina Commedia* as a subject for his pencil by learning 'that Michael Angelo had made a number of designs in the margin of a copy of Dante',[1] produced 110 drawings, 38 from the *Inferno*, 39 from the *Purgatorio*, and 33 from the *Paradiso*, which were engraved by T. Piroli, and published in Rome in 1793. Their success was immediate and lasting. A new edition was called for in 1802; and five years later (in 1807) the work was published in London, with quotations from Boyd's translation, the standard English version of the day. Numerous other issues followed, in Italy, Germany, and France; and even in Russia an edition was published of the *Inferno* with a selection from Flaxman's designs. Schlegel, the foremost of German critics, wrote a critique in which he very highly commended the designs of the English artist; and he adduced Flaxman's preference of Dante to Milton as a proof that he surpassed his countrymen in taste—a compliment which Flaxman disclaimed, for, he said, he considered Milton 'the very greatest of poets', though inferior to Dante from the

[1] See above, p. 136.

artist's point of view, as 'supplying but few figures, while Dante abounds in them'.[1] The great Italian sculptor, Canova, was no less appreciative; while Fuseli, who was not, as a rule, lavish of his praise of a brother-artist's work, exclaimed when he saw the designs, 'I used to think myself the best composer; but now I own Flaxman to be the greater man'. Another critic, an Englishman long resident in Italy,[2] who was a close student of Dante and was intimately acquainted with the *Divina Commedia*, described Flaxman's drawing as 'among the noblest productions of art'.

'They frequently display a sublime simplicity which is worthy of the artist's great original. Indeed he who is so able to transfer such creations from one fine art to another, seems of a mind but little inferior to his who could first conceive them. To borrow the words of an excellent Italian sculptor—"Mr. Flaxman has translated Dante best, for he has translated him into the universal language of nature".'

The chief merit of Flaxman's designs, which still retain their popularity in England, in spite of the rival attractions of Gustave Doré's illustrations, lies in their classical dignity and simplicity. This is conspicuous especially in the figures of Virgil and Dante, draped in the long cloak, which was suggested to Flaxman, as his wife told Crabb Robinson, by the common cloak usually worn at that time by peasants in Italy.[3] The most successful designs, consequently, are those which represent scenes where the action is free from movements of violence or of terror. On the other hand, not a few of them are lamentable failures, and one or two are positively grotesque; such, for instance, as that of the wood of suicides (*Inferno* xiv); or that of the 'parvoli innocenti' (*Purgatorio* x), who are represented as a crowd of chubby little children issuing from the jaws of a gigantic death's-head with outspread skeleton hands.[4]

[1] See Crabb Robinson's *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence*, vol. i. pp. 319–20.

[2] John Taaffe, a friend of Byron and Shelley, and author of a *Comment on the Divine Comedy*, published by Murray in 1822.

[3] See Crabb Robinson's *Diary, Reminiscences, and Correspondence, loc. cit.*

[4] Ruskin, in his *Elements of Drawing*, says: 'Flaxman's outlines to Dante contain, I think, examples of almost every kind of falsehood and feebleness

Of a widely different stamp from Flaxman, though closely associated with him as the engraver of his designs from Hesiod and from the *Odyssey*, was the next English artist who turned his attention to the illustration of Dante. Flaxman was the typical representative of the classical sculpturesque or statuesque style of illustration which found favour for a time in Germany and Italy, as well as in England. His successor was the poet and visionary, William Blake, the acknowledged founder of the symbolic school, whose most successful exponent in the field of Dante illustration was the late D. G. Rossetti. Blake's first connexion as an artist with Dante appears to have been about the year 1801, when he painted a portrait of Dante, nearly life-size, as part of a series of eighteen heads of the poets, commissioned by Hayley as a decoration for his library, which began with Homer and ended with Hayley himself. Not only was Blake a student of Dante, as is evident from his vigorous defence, quoted above, of Fuseli's 'Ugolino', as well as from sundry passages in his writings; but, as we learn from Crabb Robinson, he claimed a personal acquaintance with Dante, with whom he held 'visionary conversations', and who, as he alleged, frequently visited him in company with Moses, Homer, Shakespeare, Milton, Voltaire, and other great personages from the other world.[1]

In spite of the fact that he regarded Dante as 'an atheist, a mere politician busied about this world', Blake had the highest admiration for his genius; and when, in the year 1824, his friend John Linnell commissioned him to make a series of coloured drawings from the *Divina Commedia*, to be afterwards engraved, he set about the task with enthusiasm, though he was then in his sixty-seventh year, and broken in health. In order to enter more closely into the spirit of his author, Blake set to work to learn Italian, so as to be able to read the *Commedia* in the original, his previous acquaintance

which it is possible for a trained artist, not base in thought, to commit or admit, both in design and execution.'

[1] See Gilchrist's *Life of Blake*, vol. i, p. 160; and Crabb Robinson's *Diary*, vol. ii, p. 323.

with the poem having been made through the medium of Cary's translation, which, along with Fuseli and Flaxman, he held to be superior to any other English version.

In execution of this commission Blake produced 98 coloured designs, many of them very unfinished (68 from the *Inferno*, 20 from the *Purgatorio*, and 10 from the *Paradiso*), besides 4 uncoloured drawings, some of the work being done while he was on his sick-bed, propped up with his portfolio before him. He only survived to engrave seven of the designs from the *Inferno*, which were published, with quotations from Cary's *Dante*, in 1827, the year of his death. The remainder, which were till lately in the possession of the Linnell family, and of which eight were reproduced a few years ago[1] in the *Savoy Magazine*, have never been engraved, and remain practically unknown.[2]

From a detailed list of the drawings, compiled by W. M. Rossetti and printed in Gilchrist's *Life of Blake*, it is easy to gather that Blake was particularly attracted by the abnormal and the horrible in his choice of subjects. Seeing that his scheme was never completed, it is perhaps not unnatural that, of the total number of his designs, more than two-thirds should be taken from the *Inferno*; but an examination of the list will show that of these the majority are from episodes in which the element of the weird or the repulsive predominates. Thus the monsters Charon, Minos, Cerberus, the Minotaur, the Centaurs, Geryon, Cacus, the Harpies, the Giants, the dragons and serpents, and above all, the scenes in which Malacoda and his crew of demons figure, were evidently especial favourites with the artist, some of them being the subjects of several different designs. For instance, there are four drawings of the giants in different attitudes, eight of the various kinds of serpents, and no less than ten of the diabolical ministers of hell. In the words of his biographer, 'Blake flapped, like a moth round

[1] In 1896.

[2] Since this was written a selection of nineteen of the originals has been exhibited (1913) at the Tate Gallery. The whole series was sold at the Linnell sale at Christie's in 1918 to a British syndicate organized by the National Art Fund for £7,665. They are now distributed between the two national collections in London and several provincial collections (among them the Ashmolean at Oxford), as well as the National Gallery in Melbourne.

a candle, time after time, at the grotesqueness of the pitchforked devils and the horror of the transforming serpents'.

The conception of the whole series, as the same writer observes, is not such as most students of Dante would be willing to admit as Dantesque. Dante himself, for example, is always represented by Blake as a youthful, effeminate figure, with long flowing hair and a mild deprecating expression, as unlike as possible to the traditional representation of the poet; and his Virgil is of a similar type, without a trace of 'il Maestro' about him. Blake's indulgence in the grotesque is equally foreign to the spirit of Dante. The three beasts in the first canto of the *Inferno* are painted in kaleidoscopic colours, the leopard, for instance, being variegated crimson and blue. The harpies in canto xiii, according to Rossetti, 'resemble old parrot-like dowagers with very bright plumage'; while the Charon of canto iii he describes as 'very grotesque, almost ludicrous'. Yet the wonderful imaginings of Blake, with all their extravagance and eccentricities, come more near to realizing the creations of Dante than the 'classical refinements' of Flaxman, which, though generally attractive by their grace and beauty of design, are too often frigid and unconvincing.

With the death of Blake in 1827 closes the first period of Dante illustration in England. Occasional subjects from the *Divina Commedia*, both oil-paintings and sculpture, were exhibited at the Academy and other exhibitions during the next thirty years; but, from the time of Blake down to our own day, no other English artist of note seriously occupied himself with Dante till Rossetti set to work on the famous series of studies from the *Vita Nuova* and the *Commedia*, which, together with his well-known volume on *Dante and his Circle*, have inseparably connected his name with that of Dante.

In art, as in literature, the record of England in the matter of Dante stands second to that of Italy alone. As we have seen, the first easel-picture of a subject from Dante was painted by an English artist; and it was an English artist who first, outside of Italy, produced a complete series of illustrations to the *Divina Commedia*.

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS FROM DANTE, FROM CHAUCER TO THE PRESENT DAY[1]

THIS list was compiled by me, in the first instance, concurrently with the preparation of my work on *Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary*,[2] within the scope of which all translations by English authors, down to 1844 (the date of Cary's death), fell as a matter of course. In order to give as complete a survey as possible I have for the purposes of this list extended the *terminus ad quem* down to the present year (1920), and have included all translations written in the English language, whatever the nationality of the author.[3] Originally it was intended to confine the list strictly to English writers only, but it was felt that to exclude such familiar names as those of Longfellow, Lowell, or Norton, for instance, while admitting every English translator, however obscure, would have given the work an air of incompleteness. Longfellow's translation of the *Divina Commedia*, and Norton's of the *Vita Nuova*, are at least as familiar to most English readers of Dante nowadays as the versions of Cary and of Rossetti. For the names of the less well-known American translators I am chiefly indebted to the various bibliographical publications of the compiler[4] of the admirable *Catalogue of the Cornell Dante Collection*, my obligations to which will be found recorded repeatedly in the following pages.

[1] Reprinted, with considerable additions, modifications, and corrections, from *Twenty-fourth Annual Report (1906) of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, pp. 1–111.

[2] Published in 1909.

[3] For the verification of many of the new references I am indebted to my friend, Mr. F. G. Stokes; and for numerous *addenda*, which had escaped my researches, to Mr. Huxley St. John Brooks.

[4] T. W. Koch.

In the list are included not only complete translations of Dante's several works, but also selections from any particular work, as well as what may be described as 'incidental' translations of isolated passages (sometimes very brief), such as occur in the works of Chaucer, Milton, Coleridge, of Macaulay, Ruskin, Carlyle, and of numerous minor writers.

The total number of translators exceeds three hundred, but the total number of entries is, of course, very considerably higher, inasmuch as some writers have translated a great number of passages in various years and in various works; under Chaucer, for example, twenty or more passages are registered, and under Leigh Hunt as many as a hundred.

The list is strictly chronological, in the order of the dates of composition (when known), or of publication. The date of any particular translation may be found without difficulty by means of the Alphabetical Index of Translators,[1] where the date of the *first* translation of each author is given; subsequent translations (if any) may be found by means of the cross-references in the foot-notes to the general list.

In the list of translators will be found some of the most illustrious names in English literature, including Chaucer, Milton, Gray, Byron, Coleridge, and Shelley among poets; and Hazlitt, Leigh Hunt, Landor, and Macaulay among essayists; three Prime Ministers are included in the list, viz. Lord Grenville, Lord John Russell, and Gladstone; and two famous bishops (represented by a few lines each), Jeremy Taylor and Stillingfleet.

Besides the Alphabetical Index of Translators already mentioned, there are provided a Table of Leading Dates in the Chronology of English Translations from Dante,[2] and a Chronological Table of English Translations of Dante's Several Works and of the Most Popular Selected Passages,[3] which furnish interesting *data* for the history of Dante in English literature.

The first portion of Dante's works to attract the notice of the English translator was the Ugolino episode, from the

[1] See pp. 163–8. [2] See pp. 174–5.
[3] See pp. 168–73.

thirty-third canto of the *Inferno*. This was rendered as early as 1386, or thereabouts, by Chaucer in his *Monk's Tale*. The next attempt, which did not appear until more than three hundred years after Chaucer's version, was by Jonathan Richardson, the portrait-painter, who published his translation in 1719, in his *Discourse on the Dignity, Certainty, Pleasure and Advantage of the Science of a Connoisseur*. The episode has since been translated, as a separate piece, independent of translations of the *Inferno*, no less than thirty times. Among those who tried their hands at the passage were Gray (in blank verse, *c.* 1737), Baretti (in prose, 1753), the two Wartons (in prose, 1756 and 1781), Medwin in collaboration with Shelley (in *terza rima*, *c.* 1820), Gladstone (in *terza rima*, 1837) and Leigh Hunt (in prose, and also in heroic couplets, in 1846).

Next after the Ugolino episode the three most popular passages of the *Commedia* with English translators have been what Byron calls the 'Fanny of Rimini', from the fifth canto of the *Inferno*, the episode of Ulysses, from the twenty-sixth canto of the *Inferno*, and the first two *terzine* of the eighth canto of the *Purgatorio*. Of the Francesca da Rimini there are twenty-eight separate versions, independent of translations of the *Inferno*. Only two of these belong to the eighteenth century, as against seven of the Ugolino. The first, published in *The Florence Miscellany* in 1785, was by William Parsons; the second was by Henry Constantine Jennings, known to his contemporaries as 'Dog Jennings', who considered 'the little Novel of Francesca', as he describes the episode, 'most elegant'. The most famous version is Byron's (composed in 1820, but not published until ten years later) in 'third rhyme', to use his own term, 'of which', he writes to John Murray, 'your British Blackguard reader as yet understands nothing'. Lord John Russell figures, oddly enough, among the translators of this episode, which he rendered in heroic couplets and published in 1844—an exploit which a contemporary critic[1] alluding to

[1] In the *English Review*, April 1844—see *Dante in English Literature*, vol. ii, pp. 686 ff.

Sydney Smith's well-known quip, declared to be quite as venturesome in its way as the assumption of the command of the Channel Fleet at ten minutes' notice. Among the other translators of this episode are Leigh Hunt (who made two versions, one in prose, and one in *terza rima*) and D. G. Rossetti. Of the Ulysses episode, which Tennyson acknowledged as the source of his poem of *Ulysses*, there are seven independent versions, the earliest being a prose rendering by Leigh Hunt in 1819. Of the first six lines of the eighth canto of the *Purgatorio*, the last of which is famous in English literature as having inspired the first line of Gray's *Elegy*, there are seventeen independent translations. Among these are versions by Peacock the novelist, who rendered the passage in a 'terzetto of three quatrains' in *Headlong Hall* in 1816; by Byron in the third canto of *Don Juan* (1821); by Samuel Rogers, who introduced a rendering in blank verse in his *Italy* (1830); and by Leigh Hunt, who rendered the passage both in prose and in *terza rima* in his *Stories from the Italian Poets* (1846).

The first published English translation of any considerable portion of the *Commedia*, beyond a mere episode, was William Hayley's version, in *terza rima*, of the first three cantos of the *Inferno*, which he printed in 1782, in the notes to the third Epistle of his *Essay on Epic Poetry*. In the same year appeared the first complete English translation of the *Inferno* (in blank verse) by Charles Rogers. This was followed in 1785 by a rendering (in six-line stanzas) by Henry Boyd, who seventeen years later, in 1802, published a translation (in the same metre) of the whole of the *Commedia*—the first complete English version to see the light.

The earliest recorded English translation of the *Commedia* was one by William Huggins, the translator of Ariosto, who at his death in 1761 left the work in manuscript, with directions to his executors that it should be printed and published, sufficient funds being provided for the purpose. Huggins's wishes, however, were disregarded, and the translation, of which a brief specimen was published in the *British Magazine* the year before his death, never saw the light. In or shortly

after 1761 Dr. Charles Burney made what his daughter, Madame D'Arblay, describes as a 'sedulous, yet energetic, though prose translation' of the *Inferno*, which likewise was never printed. The manuscript was still in existence in 1832 when Madame D'Arblay published her *Memoirs of Dr. Burney*, but, as in the case of Huggins's translation, all trace of it appears to have been lost.

In 1805 Cary published the first instalment of his blank-verse translation, consisting of the first seventeen cantos of the *Inferno*, the other seventeen cantos being published in the following year. A fourth translation of the *Inferno*, by Nathaniel Howard (in blank verse), appeared in 1807, and a fifth (also in blank verse), by Joseph Hume, in 1812. In 1814 was published the first edition, in three diminutive volumes, of Cary's translation of the whole of the *Commedia*, of which a second edition was issued (in three volumes 8vo) in 1819, and a third (in three volumes 12mo) in 1831. Since that date twenty-eight other English translations of the *Commedia* have been produced, of which three are as yet unpublished. There are besides, including those already mentioned, twenty-seven independent translations of the *Inferno* alone (the earliest, that by Charles Rogers, as stated above, having been published in 1782); ten of the *Purgatorio* (the earliest in 1883); and five of the *Paradiso* (the earliest in 1880); making in all fifty-seven translations of the *Inferno*, forty of the *Purgatorio*, and thirty-five of the *Paradiso*.

Of the thirty complete translations of the *Commedia*, ten are in *terza rima*, nine in blank verse, five in prose, the remaining six being in experimental metres of various kinds (including six-line stanzas, nine-line stanzas, and heroic couplets). Of the twenty-seven independent translations of the *Inferno*, twelve are in *terza rima*, nine in blank verse, three in prose, and three in experimental metres (rhymed quatrains, Spenserian stanzas, and 'amphiambics'). Of the ten independent translations of the *Purgatorio*, three are in prose, one in blank verse, two in *terza rima*, and three in experimental metres (including Marvellian stanzas, rhymed quatrains, and 'amphiambics'). Of the five independent translations of the *Paradiso*,

two are in prose, one in blank verse, and two in experimental metres (rhymed quatrains and Marvellian stanzas). This gives a total of forty-nine metrical translations (twenty-two in *terza rima*, eighteen in blank verse, nine in experimental metres), and eight in prose, of the *Inferno*; thirty-two metrical translations (twelve in *terza rima*, eleven in blank verse, nine in experimental metres), and eight in prose, of the *Purgatorio*; and twenty-eight metrical translations (ten in *terza rima*, ten in blank verse, eight in experimental metres), and seven in prose, of the *Paradiso*.

From these figures it appears that during the last 120 years (dating from Boyd's translation in 1802) the *Divina Commedia* has been translated into English on an average once in about every four years. If the independent translations of the several divisions of the poem be included in the reckoning, it will be found that an English translation of one or other of the three *cantiche* has been produced on an average once in about every twelve months—a record which, it is believed, cannot be paralleled in the literature of any other country.

Dante's minor works, as might be expected, have attracted a comparatively small number of translators. Of the *Vita Nuova* there have been nine English translations, of which the earliest (by Charles Lyell, *c.* 1830) has not been preserved[1]; the earliest published translation (by Joseph Garrow) was issued at Florence in 1846; the best known is that of D. G. Rossetti, which was published originally in his *Early Italian Poets* in 1861. Of the *Convivio* there have been five translations, of which the earliest (also by Lyell) has not been preserved[2]; the earliest published translation appeared in 1887. Of the *De Monarchia* there are three English translations (the earliest in 1879); of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* there are two, one published in 1890, the other as yet unpublished; of the

[1] Lyell states in the preface to the first edition of his *Canzoniere of Dante* 1835) that he translated the *Vita Nuova* and the *Convivio*, as well as the lyrical poems of Dante (p. viii); only his translation of the last was published, his MS. of the prose treatises cannot be traced.

[2] See preceding note.

Epistolae there are three (the earliest in 1891); of the *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra* there are five (the earliest in 1897). Of the Latin *Eclogues* there are three (the earliest in 1887); and of the *Canzoniere* (including the poems of the *Vita Nuova* and *Convivio*) there are four (the earliest, by Charles Lyell, in 1835), of which one is unpublished. Two of the poems of the *Canzoniere* have proved especially attractive to the English translator, namely Sonnet xv ('Tanto gentile'), from the *Vita Nuova* (§ 26), of which there are twenty-four independent versions[1]; and Sonnet xxxii ('Guido, vorrei'), of which there are eighteen renderings, among them one (an adaptation) by Hayley (1782), and another by Shelley (1816).

To the above totals America has contributed four translations of the *Divina Commedia*, the best known of which are those of Longfellow (in blank verse) and Norton (in prose); six independent versions of the *Inferno*, and one of the *Purgatorio*; also one translation (Norton's) of the *Vita Nuova*, one of the *Convivio*, one of the *De Monarchia*, one of the *Epistolae*, and one of the *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra*. One translation of the *Commedia*, and one of the poems of the *Vita Nuova*, have come from the Antipodes—namely, those of Sir Samuel Walker Griffith, Chief Justice of Australia.

Ladies have contributed two complete translations of the *Commedia*, one in *terza rima* (by Mrs. Ramsay, 1862–3), and one in blank verse (by Mrs. Shaw, 1914); besides one independent version (by an American) of the *Inferno*, one of the *Purgatorio*, and two of the *Paradiso*. Two of the translations of the *Convivio* are by ladies (one by an American), as are one of the *Vita Nuova* and one (by an American) of the *De Monarchia*.[2]

The total record, from Chaucer to the present day, covering as it does more than five centuries, constitutes a remarkable tribute on the part of the English-speaking races to the

[1] Exclusive, that is, of renderings by translators of the *Vita Nuova*.

[2] This introductory note is based in part upon my two articles on 'English Translations of Dante' in *Bulletin Italien*, Oct.—Déc. 1906, vol. vi, pp. 285-8; and in *The Times Literary Supplement*, June 20, 1918.

transcendent genius of Dante. Not as yet, it seems, need Dante fear

di perder viver tra coloro
Che questo tempo chiameranno antico!

as he expressed it to the spirit of his ancestor Cacciaguida six hundred years ago.[1]

Fama superstes
Gentibus extinctum memorat, populumque per omnem
Vivet et aeterno referetur laudibus aevo.
(*Benevenutus Imol. in Dantem.*)

ALPHABETICAL INDEX OF TRANSLATORS

WITH DATE OF FIRST TRANSLATION[2]

Anderson, Melville Best . (1916)
Anonymous [Joseph Spence] (1746)
Anonymous . . . . . (1761)
Anonymous . . . . . (1785)
Anonymous . . . . . (1792)
Anonymous . . . . . (1812)
Anonymous [Ugo Foscolo] (1818)
Anonymous . . . . . (1821)
Anonymous . . . . . (1822)
Anonymous . . . . . (1823)
Anonymous . . . . . (1826)
Anonymous . . . . . (1827)
Anonymous . . . . . (1827)
Anonymous . . . . . (1830)
Anonymous . . . . . (1832)
Anonymous . . . . . (1833)
Anonymous . . . . . (1836)
Anonymous . . . . . (1840)
Anonymous . . . . . (1846)
Anonymous . . . . . (1855)
Anonymous . . . . . (1858)
Anonymous . . . . . (1862)
Anonymous . . . . . (1865)
Anonymous . . . . . (1870)
Anonymous . . . . (*c.* 1870?)
Anonymous . . . . . (1871)
Anonymous . . . . . (1872)
Anonymous . . . . . (1873)
Anonymous . . . . . (1874)
Anonymous . . . . . (1875)
Anonymous . . . . . (1875)
Anonymous . . . . . (1879)
Anonymous . . . . . (1884)
Anonymous . . . . . (1888)
Anonymous . . . . . (1891)
Anonymous . . . . . (1920)
Anonymous: J. A. [James Anstie] . . . . . (1904)
Anonymous: G. J. C. . . (1855)
Anonymous: D. . . . . (1819)
Anonymous: T. K. [Thomas Kyd] . . . . . (1588)
Anonymous: J. P. . . . (1850)
Anonymous: S. . . . . (1833)

[1] *Paradiso* xvii. 119–20.

[2] Dates of subsequent translations (if any) may be found by means of the cross-references in the foot-notes to the separate entries in the general list.

Anonymous: C. T.[1]. . . (1898)
Anonymous: Y. . . . . (1821)
Anster, John . . . . . (1896)
Anstie, James . . . . . (1904)
Arnold, Matthew . . . . (1861)
Auchmuty, Arthur Compton . . . . . (1899)
Austin, Alfred . . . . . (1900)

Bainbrigge, Marion S. . . (1914)
Bannerman, Patrick . . (1850)
Baretti, Giuseppe Marc' Antonio . . . . . (1753)
Barker, William . . . . (1568)
Barlow, Henry Clark . . (1864)
Barlowe, Jerome . . . . (1527)
Barrett, Elizabeth Barrett (*c.* 1820)
Bayley[2], Peter . . . . (1821)
Baynes, Herbert . . . . (1891)
Bent, Hugh. . . . . (1862)
Bevis, J. L.. . . . . (1900)
Biffi, Cinzia. . . . . (1890)
Birckbek, Simon . . . . (1634)
Bland, Robert. . . . . (1813)
Blount, Constance . . . (1898)
Blundell, James . . . . (1840)
Boner, Charles . . . . (1859)
Boswell, Charles Stuart . (1895)
Botta, Vincenzo . . . . (1865)
Boyd, Henry . . . . . (1785)
Bray, Edward Atkyns . (*c.* 1803)
Bridges, John Henry . . (1879)
Bromby, Charles Hamilton (1897)
Brooks, Alfred M. . . . (1916)
Brooks, Charles Timothy . (1858)
Brooksbank, Thomas . . (1854)
Browne, Sir Thomas . . (1672)
Browning, Elizabeth Barrett. *See* Barrett, Elizabeth Barrett
Browning, John . . . . (1826)
Browning, Robert . . . (1845)
Bunbury[3], Frances Joanna (1852)
Burney, Charles . . . . (1761)
Busk, Rachel Harriette . (1890)
Butler, Arthur John . . . (1880)
Byrne, Samuel . . . . (1889)
Byron, Lord . . . . . (1819)

Calvert, George Henry . . (1868)
Campbell, Lewis . . . (*c.* 1900)
Carlisle, Earl of . . . . (1772)
Carlyle, John Aitken . . (1849)
Carlyle, Thomas . . . . (1837)
Carnarvon, Earl of . . (*c.* 1880)
Carpenter, William Boyd . (1914)
Cary, Henry Francis . . (1792)
Castle, Marie Louise Egerton . . . . . (1907)
Cayley, Charles Bagot . . (1851)
Chapman, Elizabeth Rachel (1887)
Chapman, John Jay . . . (1890)
Charlemont, Earl of . . . (1796)
Charteris, William . . (*c.* 1875)
Chaucer, Geoffrey . . (*c.* 1380)
Church, Frederick John . (1879)
Church, Richard William . (1850)
Clark, Mary Bayard . . (1866)
Clark, William . . . . (1898)
Clarke, Sarah Freeman . (1884)
Coan, Titus Munson . . (1874)
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor . (1817)
Collins, John Churton . . (1901)
Cooke, Philip Pendleton . (1847)
Cotterill, Henry Bernard . (1915)
Creighton, Mandell . . . (1873)
Cross, Richard James . . (1901)
Curzon of Kedleston, Lord (1915)

Da Ponte, Lorenzo . . . (1825)
Dacres, Edward . . . . (1636)
Dayman, John. . . . . (1843)

[1] Perhaps Charles Tomlinson—see under 1874.
[2] Peter Bayley wrote under the pseudonym of Giorgione di Castel Chiuso.
[3] Daughter of Leonard Horner, wife of Sir Charles James Fox Bunbury.

De Meÿ, Frances . . . (1902)
De Peyster, John Watts . (1885)
Desmaizeaux, Pierre. . . (1735)
Digby, Kenelm Henry . . (1835)
Dowe, William . . . . (1843)
Dugdale, William Stratford (1883)
Dunbar, William . . . (*c.* 1510)

Edlmann, Paolina . . . (1890)
Edwardes, E. J. . . . . (1915)
Ellaby, Ernest Ridsdale . (1871)
Elton, Oliver . . . . . (1893)

Farini, Ida . . . . . (1890)
Farneworth, Ellis . . . (1762)
Farrar, Frederick William (1898)
Fearon, David Robert . . (1898)
Featherstonhaugh, George William . . . . . (1830)
Federn, Karl . . . . . (1902)
Flower, Wickham . . . (1897)
Fontana, Lia . . . . . (1890)
Ford, James . . . . . (1865)
Forman, Alfred . . . . (1874)
Foscolo, Ugo . . . . . (1814)
Foxe, John . . . . . (1570)
Frank, Francesco . . . (1844)
Fraser, Frances Isabella . (1908)
Freshfield, Douglas William (1882)
Fry, Sir Edward . . . . (1900)
Fry, Esther Felicia . . (*c.* 1910)
Furman, Richard . . . (1859)

Gallenga[1], Antonio Carlo Napoleone . . . . . (1841)
Gardner, Edmund Garratt (1898)
Garnett, Richard. . . . (1896)
Garnier, John Carpenter . (1901)
Garrow, Joseph . . . . (1846)
Gazola, Z. . . . . (1890)
Gilder, Richard Watson . (1887)
Giorgione di Castel Chiuso. *See* Bayley, Peter
Gladstone, William Ewart (1835)
Glassford, James . . . . (1834)
Grandgent, Charles Hall . (1916)
Gray, Francis Calley . . (1845)
Gray, Thomas . . . . (*c.* 1737)
Green, William Charles . (1877)
Greene, J. Reay . . . . (1892)
Greene, Robert . . . . (1583)
Grenville, Lord . . . (*c.* 1820)
Griffin, Edward Dort . . (1831)
Griffith, Sir Samuel Walker (1903)
Grinnell-Milne, G. . . . (1909)
Guiney, Louise Imogen . (1887)
Gunn, Sidney . . . . (*c.* 1908)

Hall, Spencer . . . . (*c.* 1850?)
Hallam, Arthur Henry . . (1828)
Hallam, Henry . . . . (1818)
Hammond, Eleanor Prescott. . . . . (1919)
Harding, John George . . (1868)
Hare, Christopher . . . (1905)
Harford, Frederick Kill . (1886)
Harington, Sir John. . . (1591)
Haselfoot, Frederick Kneller Haselfoot[2] . . . . (1887)
Hatfield, Jonathan . . . (1826
Hawke, P. . . . . (*c.* 1840)
Hayley, William . . . . (1782)
Hazlitt, William . . . . (1814)
Heberden, Charles Buller. (1914)
Henderson, Henry F. . . (1903)
Henry, Aurelia . . . . (1904)
Heraud, John Abraham (*c.* 1840)
Herbert, Charles . . . . (1835)
Herschel, Sir John Frederick William . . . . (1868)
Hervey, Christopher . . (1785)
Hewlett, Maurice Henry . (1896)
Hillard, Katharine . . . (1889)
Hindley, Charles . . . . (1837)
Hodgkin, L. V. . . . . (1902)
Hodgkin, Thomas . . . (1901)
Home, Samuel . . . . (1899)

[1] Gallenga wrote under the pseudonym of L. Mariotti. [2] Formerly Cock.

Hoole, John . . . . . (1783)
Hooper, Henry John . . (1916)
Howard, Nathaniel . . . (1807)
Howell, Alan George Ferrers . . . . . (1890)
Huggins, William . . . (1760)
Hughes, Thomas . . . . (1588)
Hume, Joseph . . . . . (1812)
Hunt, James Henry Leigh (1819)

Jackson, William Walrond (1909)
Jameson, Anna Brownell . (1892)
Jennings, Henry Constantine . . . . . (1794)
Johnson, Henry . . . . (1915)
Johnston, David . . . . (1867)

Keper, John . . . . . (1598)
Kuhns, L. O. . . . . (1903)
Kyd, Thomas . . . . . (1588)

Landor, Walter Savage . (1836)
Langdon, Courtney . . . (1911)
Latham, Charles Sterrett . (1891)
Latham, John . . . . . (1826)
Lee-Hamilton, Eugene. . (1898)
Lennard, Samson . . . (1612)
Lewis, Sir George Cornewall (1835)
Lofft, Capell . . . . . (1806)
Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth . . . . . (1830)
Lowe, Edward Clarke . . (1902)
Lowell, James Russell . . (1859)
Lyell, Charles . . . . (*c.* 1830)

Macaulay, Thomas Babington . . . . . (1824)
Macfarlane, Charles . . (1832)
MacGregor, James . . . (1880)
McKay, W. J. Stewart . . (1909)
M'Cully, R. . . . . (1870)
Mahony, Francis Sylvester[1] . . . . . (1835)
Mariotti, Louis. *See* Gallenga, A. C. N.
Martin, Theodore . . . (1845)
Mathias, Thomas James . (1798)
Mazzinghi, Thomas John . (1844)
Medwin, Thomas . . (*c.* 1820)
Merivale, John Herman . (1814)
Mickle, William Julius . . (1775)
Mills, Charles . . . . . (1822)
Milnes, Richard Monckton (1838)
Milton, John . . . . . (1641)
Minchin, James Innes . . (1885)
Molloy, Gerald . . . . (1897)
Money, A. L. . . . . (1910)
Montague, Francis Charles (1903)
Montgomery, James . . . (1835)
Moore, Edward . . . . (1899)
Moore, Thomas . . . . (1841)
Morehead, Robert . . . (1814)
Morgan, Lady . . . . . (1821)
Morley, Henry . . . . (1888)
Morshead, Edmund Doidge Anderson . . . . . (1875)
Munro, Alexander . . . (1852)
Murray, Eleanor Vinton . (1920)
Musgrave, George . . . (1893)

Napier, Henry Edward . (1846)
Neville, Henry . . . . (1675)
Nind, W. . . . . (1846)
Norton, Charles Eliot . . (1859)
Noth, George Frederick . (1815)
Nugent, Thomas . . . . (1758)

O'Donnell, E. . . . . (1852)
Okey, Thomas . . . . (1901)
Oliphant, Margaret Oliphant . . . . . (1874)
O'Neil, Henry Nelson . . (1842)
Otté, E. C. . . . . (1848)

Parsons, Thomas William (1843)
Parsons, William. . . . (1785)
Paul, Charles Kegan . . (1886)
Payne, John . . . . (*c.* 1860)
Peabody, J. C. . . . . (1857)
Peacock, Thomas Love . (1816)

[1] Mahony wrote under the pseudonym of Father Prout.

Peaselee, A. N. . . . . (1900)
Peck, Francis . . . . . (1740)
Pember, Edward Henry . (1897)
Perceval, George. *See* Procter, George
Peterson, Robert . . . . (1576)
Pettie, George . . . . . (1581)
Phillimore, Catherine Mary (1898)
Phillimore, John Swinnerton . . . . . (1896)
Pike, Warburton . . . . (1879)
Pincherle, Giacomo . . . (1865)
Piozzi, Hester Lynch . . (1794)
Plumptre, Edward Hayes. (1869)
Plunkett, George Noble . (1902)
Pollock, William Frederick. . . . . (1854)
Porrini, Matilde . . . . (1890)
Potter, Caroline . . . . (1896)
Pound, Ezra . . . . . (1910)
Powell, Frederick York (*c.* 1887)
Prichard, Augustin . . . (1848)
Procter[1], George. . . . (1825)
Pychowska, Lucia Duncan (1893–4)
Pyne, John . . . . . (1914)

Ramsay, C. H. . . . . (1862)
Reed, Katherine . . . . (1902)
Reynolds, Samuel Harvey (1861)
Ricci, Luigi. . . . . (1903)
Richardson, Jonathan . . (1719)
Robinson, Samuel . . . (1860)
Rogers, Charles . . . . (1782)
Rogers, Samuel . . . . (1830)
Ronco, Rosa . . . . . (1890)
Roscoe, Thomas . . . . (1823)
Roscoe, William . . . . (1820)
Rose, William Stewart . . (1819)
Rossetti, Dante Gabriel . (1849)
Rossetti, Maria Francesca (1871)
Rossetti, William Michael (1861)
Rowe, Charles James . (*c.* 1860?)
Roy, William . . . . . (1528)
Rusden, George William (*c.* 1876)
Ruskin, John . . . . . (1856)
Russell, Lord John . . . (1844)
Russell, Matthew. . . . (1880)
Ryder, Henry Ignatius Dudley . . . . . (1882)
Rymer, Thomas . . . . (1693)

Sabin, Arthur K. . . . (1906)
Sabine, Elizabeth Juliana . (1848)
Saintsbury, George Edward Bateman . . . . . (1900)
Sanford, John . . . . . (1605)
Santayana, George . . . (1910)
Savage, Minot Judson . . (1882)
Sayer, Elizabeth Price . . (1887)
Schaff, Philip . . . . . (1890)
Schram, L. . . . . (1895)
Scott, C. H. Montagu-Douglas . . . . . (1908)
Seaver, H. L. . . . . (1901)
Seeger, Alan . . . . . (1917)
Seward, William . . . . (1798)
Shadwell, Charles Lancelot (1882)
Shannon[2], Edward N. . . (1836)
Sharp, Isaac . . . . . (1918)
Shaw, Edith Mary . . . (1914)
Shelley, Percy Bysshe . . (1816)
Shore, Arabella . . . . (1886)
Sibbald, James Romanes . (1884)
Simms, William Gilmore . (1853)
Simpson, Leonard Francis (1851)
Snell, Frederick John . . (1899)
Spence, Joseph . . . . (1746)
Stebbing, Henry . . . . (1831)
Stillingfleet, Edward . . (1662)
Stokes, Whitley . . . . (1857)
Strong, Charles . . . . (1827)
Sullivan, Sir Edward . . (1893)
Swinburne, Algernon Charles . . . . . (1868)
Symonds, John Addington (1872)

[1] Proctor wrote under the pseudonym of George Perceval.

[2] Shannon published his translation under the pseudonym of Odoardo Volpi.

Taaffe, John . . . . . (1822)
Taylor, Jeremy . . . . (1653)
Taylor, John Edward . . (1840)
Tempest, Basil . . . . (1893)
Tennyson, Alfred . . . (1842)
Thomas, John Wesley . . (1859)
Thompson, S. P. . . . . (1905)
Thomson, Ninian Hill . . (1883)
Thornton, William Thomas (1879)
Tofte, Robert . . . . . (1615)
Tomlinson, Charles . . . (1874)
Toscano, Maria . . . . (1890)
Toynbee, Paget . . . . (1900)
Tozer, Henry Fanshawe . (1901)
Trollope, Thomas Adolphus . . . . . (1877)
Urquhart, Robert . . . (1895)
Véricour, Raymond de . . (1858)
Vernon, William Warren . (1889)
Verrall, Arthur Woollgar . (1903)
Verschoyle, Hamilton S. . (1905)
Vialls, Mary Alice . . . (1890)
Vincent, Marvin R. . . . (1897)
Volpi, Odoardo. *See* Shannon, Edward N.
Waddington, Samuel . . (1886)
Wade, Thomas . . . . (1845)
Walker, Joseph Cooper . (1805)
Ward, Caroline . . . . (1834)
Warton, Joseph . . . . (1756)
Warton, Thomas . . . . (1781)
Weld, Charles Richard . . (1867)
Wharton, Richard . . . (1804)
Wheeler, C. E. . . . . (1911)
Whetstone, George . . . (1584)
White, Alain Campbell. . (1903)
Whyte, Bruce . . . . . (1841)
Wicksteed, Philip Henry . (1879)
Wilberforce, Edward . . (1903)
Wilde, Richard Henry . (*c.* 1840)
Wilkie, William P. . . . (1862)
Williams, James . . . . (1904)
Wilson, Epiphanius . . . (1899)
Wilstach, John Augustine. (1888)
Wiseman, Nicholas Patrick Stephen . . . . . (1855)
Wright, C. Gordon . . . (1905)
Wright, Ichabod Charles . (1833)
Young, Bartholomew . . (1586)

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF DANTE'S SEVERAL WORKS,

AND OF THE MOST POPULAR SELECTED PASSAGES

Divina Commedia

Boyd, 1785–1802 [1] (*six-line stanzas*)
Cary, 1805–6–14 (*blank verse*)
Wright, 1833–6–40 (*bastard terza rima*)
Dayman, 1843–65 (*terza rima*)
Bannerman, 1850 (*heroic couplets* [2])
Cayley, 1851–3–4 (*terza rima*)
O'Donnell, 1852 (*prose*)
Pollock, 1854 (*blank verse*)
Thomas, 1859–62–6 (*terza rima*)
Payne, *c.* 1860 ('*verse*') [3]
Ramsay, 1862–3 (*terza rima*)
Ford, 1865–70 (*terza rima*)

[1] Where two or more dates are given it is an indication that the translation was issued by instalments in those years.

[2] The strictness of the rhyme is much relaxed as the translation proceeds.

[3] Not published (see Wright's *Life of Payne*, p. 12).

Longfellow, 1865–6–7 (*blank verse*)[1]
Johnston, 1867–8 (*blank verse*)
Charteris, *c.* 1875 (*irregular rhyme*)[2]
Butler, 1880–5–92 (*prose*)
Minchin, 1885 (*terza rima*)
Plumptre, 1886–7 (*terza rima*)
Haselfoot, 1887 (*terza rima*)
Wilstach, 1888 (*nine-line stanzas*)
Vernon, 1889–94–1900 (*prose*)
Norton, 1891–2 (*prose*)
Lowe, 1902 (*blank verse*)
Wilberforce, 1903–9 (*terza rima*)
Griffith, 1903–11 (*hendecasyllabic blank verse*)
Tozer, 1904 (*prose*)
Gordon Wright, 1908 (*blank verse*)[3]
Wheeler, 1911 (*terza rima*)
Shaw, 1914 (*blank verse*)
Johnson, 1915 (*blank verse*)

Summary: *terza rima*, 10; *prose*, 5; *blank verse*, 9; *bastard terza rima*, 1; *six-line stanzas*, 1; *heroic couplets*, 1; *nine-line stanzas*, 1; *irregular rhyme*, 1; '*verse*', 1;—total, 30.

Inferno[4]

Rogers, 1782 (*blank verse*)
Howard, 1807 (*blank verse*)
Hume, 1812 (*blank verse*)
Heraud, *c.* 1840 (*terza rima*)[2]
Wade, 1845–6 (*terza rima*)[3]
J. A. Carlyle, 1849 (*prose*)
Brooksbank, 1854 (*terza rima*)
Whyte, 1859 (*terza rima*)
Wilkie, 1862 (*irregular blank verse*)
Hugh Bent, 1862 (*terza rima*)[5]
W. M. Rossetti, 1865 (*blank verse*)
Parsons, 1867 (*rhymed quatrains*)
Tomlinson, 1877 (*terza rima*)
Pike, 1881 (*terza rima*)
Sibbald, 1884 (*terza rima*)
Sullivan, 1893 (*prose*)
Musgrave, 1893 (*Spenserian stanzas*)
Urquhart, 1895 (*terza rima*)
Lee-Hamilton, 1898 (*hendecasyllabic blank verse*)
Garnier, 1901 (*prose*)[5]
Vincent, 1904 (*blank verse*)
Gunn, *c.* 1908 (*terza rima*)[6]
Anderson, *c.* 1910 (*terza rima*)[3]
Edwardes, 1915 (*blank verse*)
Langdon, 1918 (*blank verse*)
Hooper, 1918 ('*amphiambics*')[2]
Murray, 1920 (*terza rima*)

Summary: *terza rima*, 12; *blank verse*, 9; *prose*, 3; *rhymed quatrains*, 1; *Spenserian stanzas*, 1; '*amphiambics*', 1;—total, 27.

Purgatorio[7]

Dugdale, 1883 (*prose*)
Shadwell, 1892–9 (*Marvellian stanzas*)

[1] Privately printed in these years; published in 1867.
[2] Not published; MS. in the British Museum.
[3] Not published.
[4] As a separate piece only, and not forming part of a complete translation of the *Commedia*.
[5] Privately printed.
[6] Canto i published in 1912; the remainder unpublished.
[7] As a separate piece only.

Auchmuty, 1899 (*octosyllabic terza rima*)
Okey, 1901 (*prose*)
Potter, 1904 (*rhymed quatrains*)
Gordon Wright, 1905 (*prose*)
Money, 1910 (*blank verse*)
Anderson, *c.* 1910 (*terza rima*) [1]
Hooper, 1916 ('*amphiambics*') [1]
Langdon, 1921 (*blank verse*)
Summary: *terza rima*, 2; *blank verse*, 2; *prose*, 3; *Marvellian stanzas*, 1; *rhymed quatrains*, 1; '*amphiambics*', 1;—total, 10.

Paradiso [2]

MacGregor, 1880 (*prose*) [3]
Wicksteed, 1899 (*prose*)
Potter, 1904 (*rhymed quatrains*)
Fraser, 1908 (*blank verse*)
Shadwell, 1915 (*Marvellian stanzas*)
Summary: *prose*, 2; *blank verse*, 1; *rhymed quatrains*, 1; *Marvellian stanzas*, 1;—total, 5.

Vita Nuova

Lyell, *c.* 1830 (*poems* in *unrhymed verse*) [4]
Garrow, 1846 (*poems* in *rhymed verse*)
D. G. Rossetti, 1861 (*poems* in *rhymed verse*)
Martin, 1862 (*poems* in *rhymed verse*) [5]
Norton, 1867 (*poems* in *rhymed verse*) [6]
Boswell, 1895 (*poems* in *prose*)
De Meÿ, 1902 (*poems* in *rhymed verse*)
Ricci, 1903 (*poems* in *rhymed verse*)
Okey, 1906 (*poems* in *prose*)

Convivio

Lyell, *c.* 1830 (*canzoni* in *unrhymed verse*) [4]
Sayer, 1887 (*canzoni* in *rhymed verse*)
Hillard, 1889 (*canzoni* in *unrhymed verse*)
Wicksteed, 1903 (*canzoni* in *prose*)
Jackson, 1909 (*canzoni* in *prose*) [7]

Canzoniere

Lyell, 1835 (*unrhymed verse*)
Payne, *c.* 1860 ('*verse*') [1]
Plumptre, 1887 (*rhymed verse*)
Wicksteed, 1903–6 (*prose*) [8]

De Monarchia

F. J. Church, 1879
Wicksteed, 1896
Henry, 1904

De Vulgari Eloquentia

Howell, 1890 [9]
Heberden, 1914 [10]

[1] Not published.
[2] As a separate piece only.
[3] Not published; MS. in Bodleian.
[4] See note 1 on p. 161.
[5] Theodore Martin published a translation of the poems only of the *Vita Nuova* in 1845.
[6] Norton published a translation of selected portions of the *Vita Nuova* in 1859.
[7] Completed in 1905, not published till 1909.
[8] Published partly in Wicksteed's translation of the *Convivio* (1903), partly in Okey's translation of the *Vita Nuova*.
[9] Second (revised) edition, published in 1904.
[10] As yet unpublished.

Epistolae

Latham, 1891
Wicksteed, 1904
Toynbee, 1920

Eclogae

Plumptre, 1887 (*blank verse*)
Wicksteed, 1902 (*prose*)
Wicksteed, 1904 (*blank verse*)

Quaestio de Aqua et Terra

Bromby, 1897
White, 1903
Wicksteed, 1904
Thompson, 1905
Shadwell, 1909[1]

Selected Passages from the Divina Commedia[2]

'Ugolino' (Inferno xxxiii)

Chaucer, *c.* 1386 (*eight-line stanzas*)
Richardson, 1719 (*blank verse*)
Gray, *c.* 1737 (*blank verse*)
Baretti, 1753 (*prose*)
J. Warton, 1756 (*prose*)
Earl of Carlisle, 1772 (*heroic couplets*)
T. Warton, 1781 (*prose*)
Jennings, 1794 (*blank verse*)
Wharton, 1804 (*heroic couplets*)
Morehead, 1814 (*Spenserian stanzas*)
Medwin[3], *c.* 1820 (*terza rima*)
Anonymous, 1821 (*heroic couplets*)
T. Roscoe, 1823 (*terza rima*)
J. Latham, 1826 (*terza rima*)
Featherstonhaugh, 1830 (*blank verse*)
Griffin, 1831 (*blank verse*)
Montgomery, 1836 (*blank verse*)
Gladstone, 1837 (*terza rima*)
Dowe, 1843 (*eight-line stanzas*)
Leigh Hunt, 1846 (*prose*, also *heroic couplets*)
Napier, 1846 (*blank verse*)
Cooke, 1847 (*nine-line stanzas*)
G. J. C., 1855 (*terza rima*)
Furman, 1859 (*rhymed verse*)
Calvert, 1868 (*octosyllabic blank verse*)
Morshead, 1875 (*Spenserian stanzas*)
Pike, 1879 (*terza rima*)
Plumptre, 1883 (*terza rima*)
Shore, 1886 (*bastard terza rima*)
Griffith, 1898 (*blank verse*)
Wilson, 1899 (*Spenserian stanzas*)
Vialls, 1899 (*terza rima*)
Langdon, 1911 (*hendecasyllabic blank verse*)

'Francesca da Rimini' (Inferno v)

Parsons, 1785 (*heroic couplets*)
Jennings, 1794 (*blank verse*)
Byron, 1820 (*terza rima*)
Anonymous, 1836 (*three-line stanzas, unrhymed*)
Merivale, 1838 (*terza rima*)
Lord John Russell, 1844 (*heroic couplets*)
Leigh Hunt, 1846 (*prose*, also *terza rima*)
J. P., 1850 (*blank verse*)
Hall, *c.* 1850 (*irregular verse*)
Simms, 1853 (*terza rima*)
Simpson, 1851 (*terza rima*)
D. G. Rossetti, 1862 (*terza rima*)
M. B. Clark, 1866 (*verse*)
Harding, 1868 (*blank verse*)

[1] Completed in 1904, not published till 1909.

[2] Only those translations are registered which were published as separate pieces.

[3] In collaboration with Shelley.

Morshead, 1875 (*Spenserian stanzas*)
Oliphant, 1877 (*terza rima*)
Thornton, 1879 (*terza rima*)
Plumptre, 1883 (*terza rima*)
Peyster, 1885 (*blank verse*)
Shore, 1886 (*five-line stanzas, rhymed*)
Griffith, 1898 (*blank verse*)
Wilson, 1899 (*Spenserian stanzas*)
Reed, 1902 (*prose*)
Williams, 1904 (*terza rima*)
Martin, 1907 (*blank verse*)
Grinnell-Milne, 1909 (*terza rima*)
Pyne, 1914 (*terza rima*)
Lord Curzon, 1915 (*rhymed quatrains*)

'The Gate of Hell' (Inferno iii. 1-9)[1]

Baretti, 1753 (*prose*)
T. Warton, 1781 (*prose*)
Anonymous: D., 1819 (*Spenserian stanza*)
Bayley, 1821 (*heroic couplets*)
Longfellow, 1830 (*terza rima*)
Mahony, 1835 (*rhymed quatrains*)
Herbert, 1835 (*blank verse*)
Montgomery, 1836 (*blank verse*)
Anonymous, 1836 (*blank verse*)
Merivale, 1838 (*terza rima*)
Leigh Hunt, 1846 (*prose*)
Robinson, 1860 (*terza rima*)
Harding, 1868 (*blank verse*)
Calvert, 1868 (*blank verse*)
Anonymous, *c.* 1870 (*terza rima*)
Pike, 1879 (*terza rima*)
Wicksteed, 1879 (*prose*)
Shore, 1886 (*blank verse*)
Wilson, 1899 (*Spenserian stanza*)
Cross, 1901 (*prose*)
Douglas-Scott, 1908 (*blank verse*)
Pyne, 1914 (*terza rima*)

'Ulysses' (Inferno xxvi)

Leigh Hunt, 1819 (*prose*)
Parsons, 1866 (*rhymed quatrains*)
Morshead, 1875 (*Spenserian stanzas*)
Pike, 1879 (*terza rima*)
Shadwell, 1882 (*Marvellian stanzas*)
Vialls, 1890 (*terza rima*)
Cross, 1901 (*prose*)

'Evening' (Purgatorio viii. 1-6)

Bland, 1814 (*terza rima*)
Merivale, 1814 (*ottava rima*)
Peacock, 1816 (*rhymed quatrains*)
Byron, 1821 (*ottava rima*)
Rogers, 1830 (*blank verse*)
Merivale, 1838 (*terza rima*)
Leigh Hunt, 1846 (*prose*, also *terza rima*)
Oliphant, 1877 (*terza rima*)
Pike, 1879 (*terza rima*)
Tomlinson, 1882 (*terza rima*)
Plumptre, 1884 (*terza rima*)
Shore, 1886 (*terza rima*)
C. T., 1898 (*blank verse*)
Wilson, 1899 (*Spenserian stanza*)
Cross, 1901 (*prose*)
Boyd Carpenter, 1914 (*rhymed quatrains*)

Selected Poems from the Canzoniere

Son. I (Vita Nuova, § 3: 'A ciascun' alma')[2]

Cary, 1819
Stebbing, 1831
Anonymous, 1858
Pincherle, 1865
Porrini, 1890
Garnett, 1896

[1] Several of the translators have rendered the whole canto.
[2] Exclusive of versions contained in translations of the *Vita Nuova*.

Clark, 1898
Toynbee, 1910
Grandgent, 1917

Son. XI (Vita Nuova, § 21: 'Negli occhi porta')[1]

Bray, *c.* 1803
Shelley, 1816
Foscolo, 1823
Jameson, 1829
Coan, 1874
Tomlinson, 1874
Carnarvon, *c.* 1880
Porrini, 1890
Campbell, *c.* 1900
Grandgent, 1917

Son. XV (Vita Nuova, § 26: 'Tanto gentile')[1]

Lyell, 1835
Martin, 1845
Anonymous, 1855
Norton, 1859
Boner, 1859
Rowe, *c.* 1860
Parsons, 1869
Tomlinson, 1874
Anonymous, 1875
Rusden *c.* 1876
Pike, 1879
Pincherle, 1881
Ryder, 1882
Savage, 1882
Paul, 1886
Plumptre, 1887
Gilder, 1887
Guiney, 1887
Busk, 1890
Garnett, 1896
Phillimore, 1896
Wilson, 1899
Kuhns, 1903
Grandgent, 1917

Son. XXI (Vita Nuova, § 38: 'L'amaro lagrimar')[1]

Taaffe, 1822
Stebbing, 1831
Garnett, 1896
W. M. Rossetti, 1910
Grandgent, 1917

Son. XXIV (Vita Nuova, § 41: 'Deh peregrini')[1]

Lofft, 1806
Cary, 1819
Strong, 1827
Whyte, 1841
Glassford, 1846
Ryder, 1882
Garnett, 1896
Kuhns, 1903
Grandgent, 1917

Son. XXXII ('Guido, vorrei')

Hayley, 1782
Shelley, 1816
Lyell, 1835
Wilde, *c.* 1840
Stokes, 1857
D. G. Rossetti, 1861
Martin, 1862
Anonymous, 1865
Anonymous, 1875
Pike, 1879
Ryder, 1882
Plumptre, 1887
Norton, 1892
Boswell, 1895
Garnett, 1896
Snell, 1899
Wicksteed, 1906
Grandgent, 1917

[1] Exclusive of versions contained in translations of the *Vita Nuova*.

TABLE OF THE LEADING DATES IN THE CHRONOLOGY OF ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS FROM DANTE

c. 1380. Earliest translation from the *Divina Commedia* (Chaucer, in *Troilus and Cressida*)

1568. Earliest translation from the *Convivio* (Barker, in *The Fearfull Fansies of the Florentine Couper*)

1591. Terza rima first employed in translation (three lines) from the *Divina Commedia* (Harington, in *Allegorie of the Fourth Booke* of *Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse*)

1598. Earliest translation from the *Canzoniere* (Keper, in *The Courtiers Academie*)

1641. Blank verse first employed in translation (three lines) from the *Divina Commedia* (Milton, in *Of Reformation touching Church Discipline in England*)

1719. First sustained translation (77 lines) in blank verse (Richardson)

1782. First sustained translation (three cantos) in terza rima (Hayley, in *Notes to Third Epistle on Epic Poetry*)

1782. First complete translation (*blank verse*) of the *Inferno*[1] (Rogers)

1802. First complete translation (*six-line stanzas*) of the *Divina Commedia* (Boyd)

1805–6. Cary's translation (*blank verse*) of the *Inferno* first published

1814 Cary's complete translation (*blank verse*) of the *Divina Commedia* first published (in 3 vols. 24mo)

1819. Second edition of Cary's translation (in 3 vols. 8vo)

1831. Third edition of Cary's translation (in 3 vols. 12mo)

1833. Wright's translation (*bastard terza rima*) of the *Inferno* first published

1835. First translation (*unrhymed verse*) of the *Canzoniere* (Lyell)

1836. Wright's translation (*bastard terza rima*) of the *Purgatorio* first published

1840. Wright's translation (*bastard terza rima*) of the *Paradiso* first published

1843. First translation of the *Inferno* in the terza rima of the original (Dayman)[2]

[1] It is known that William Huggins, the translator of Ariosto, made a verse translation of the whole of the *Commedia* before 1761; and Fanny Burney records that Dr. Burney made a prose translation of the *Inferno* in 1761; but these were never printed, and apparently have not been preserved.

[2] If Heraud's translation of the *Inferno* is correctly dated *c.* 1840, Dayman's would take second place.

1844. Fourth edition (first in one volume) of Cary's translation[1]
1845. First collected edition (in 3 vols. 12mo) of Wright's translation
1846. First translation of the *Vita Nuova*[2] (Garrow)
1849. First prose translation of the *Inferno* (Carlyle)
1851–3–4. First complete translation of the *Divina Commedia* in terza rima (Cayley)
1852. First complete translation of the *Divina Commedia* in prose (O'Donnell)
1854. Third edition (first in one volume) of Wright's translation
1861. Rossetti's translation of the *Vita Nuova* first published
1867. Longfellow's translation (*blank verse*) of the *Divina Commedia* first published[3]
1879. First translation of the *De Monarchia* (F. J. Church)
1887. First translation (*blank verse*) of the *Eclogae* (Plumptre)
1887. First translation of the *Convivio*[4] (Sayer)
1890. First translation of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (Howell)
1891. First translation of the *Epistolae* (Latham)[5]
1897. First translation of the *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra* (Bromby)
1917. First translation of the Battifolle letters (Toynbee)
1920. First complete translation of the *Epistolae* (Toynbee)

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS FROM DANTE

FROM CHAUCER TO THE PRESENT DAY

CENTURY XIV

Geoffrey Chaucer

(*c.* 1340–1400)

c. 1380–2.[6]	Inf. ii. 127–9 . . .	(in *Troilus and Cressida*, ii. 967–9)
	Par. xxxiii. 13–15 .	(in *Troilus and Cressida*, iii. 1261–3)
	Inf. iii. 112–14 . .	(in *Troilus and Cressida*, iv. 225–7)
	Par. xiv. 28–30 . .	(in *Troilus and Cressida*, v. 1863–5)
1382.	Inf. ii. 1–3 . . .	(in *Parlement of Foules*, ll. 85–6)
	Inf. iii. 19–20 . .	(in *Parlement of Foules*, ll. 169–70)
	Purg. xxviii. 14, 16–18 .	(in *Parlement of Foules*, ll. 201–3)

[1] Cary died in this year.

[2] Printed and published at Florence. Lyell made a translation of the *Vita Nuova c.* 1830, but it has not been printed (see p. 161, n. 1).

[3] It had been privately printed in 1865–6–7.

[4] Lyell made a translation of the *Convivio c.* 1830, but it has not been printed (see p. 161, n. 1).

[5] With the exception of the Battifolle letters.

[6] The dates assigned to Chaucer's poems are for the most part conjectural.

Chaucer (*continued*)

1384. Inf. ii. 7–9 . . . . (in *House of Fame*, ii. 15–18)
Par. i. 19, 22–6 . (in *House of Fame*, iii. 19, 11–13, 15–17)
c. 1385–6. Inf. xiii. 64–6 (in *Legend of Good Women*, Prol., ll. 358–9)
Inf. v. 100 . . (in *Legend of Good Women*, Prol., l. 503)
Purg. xxi. 31–2 . . . . (in *Legend of Dido*, l. 181)
Inf. vii. 64 . . . (in *Legend of Ypermystra*, l. 77)
c. 1386–8. Purg. i. 19–20 . . . (in *Knight's Tale*, ll. 635–6)
Inf. v. 100 . . . . . (in *Knight's Tale*, l. 903)
Inf. xiii. 40–4 . . . (in *Knight's Tale*, ll. 1479–82)
Inf. v. 100 . . . . (in *Man of Law's Tale*, l. 600)
Par. xxxiii. 16–21 . . (in *Prioress's Tale*, Prol , ll. 22–6)
Inf. xxxiii. 43–75 . . . (in *Monk's Tale*, ll. 433–65)
Inf. v. 56 . . . . . (in *Monk's Tale*, l. 487)
Purg. vii. 121–3 . . (in *Wife of Bath's Tale*, ll. 272–4)
Inf. v. 100 . . . . (in *Merchant's Tale*, ll. 742)
Inf. v. 100 . . . . . (in *Squire's Tale*, l. 479)
Par. xxxiii. 1–12, 16–21 (in *Second Nun's Tale*, Prol., ll. 36–44, 50–6)

CENTURY XVI

William Dunbar

(*c.* 1465-*c.* 1530)

c. 1510. Purg. xxxiii. 54 ('Quhat is this lyfe bot ane straucht way to deid?')[1]

William Roy and Jerome Barlowe

(fl. 1527)

1528. Par. xxix. 94–6, 106–8, (*rhyme*) (in *Rede me and be nott wrothe*, ed. Arber, 1871, p. 73)[2]

William Barker

(fl. 1560)

1568. (In *The Fearfull Fansies of the Florentine Couper*, translated from Gelli's *Capricci del Bottaio*)
Purg. xxv. 88–96 (*prose*) . . . . . (fol. 8)
Conv. i. 11, ll. 72–82 . . . . . (fol. 11)
Purg. xxxi. 62–3 (*rhyme*) . . . . . (fol. 14)
Conv. i. 12, ll. 1–6 . . . . . (fol. 46)

[1] This close parallel with Dante's 'il viver ch' è un correre alla morte', of which it appears to be a translation, was pointed out by O. L. Triggs, in his introduction to Lydgate's *Assembly of Gods*, E. E. T. S., p. xliii; but it may be a reminiscence of a phrase of Petrarch's ('nihil est aliud tempus vitae huius, quam cursus ad mortem') in a letter to Raimondo Soranzo (*De Rebus Fam.* i. 1).

[2] A loose paraphrase.

Barker (*continued*)

1568. Purg. iii. 133-4 (*rhyme*) . . . . . (fol. 77)
Purg. xxvii. 140-1 (*rhyme*) . . . . . (fol. 82)
Conv. iv. 27, ll. 37-40 . . . . . (fol. 92)
Par. xxvii. 106-8, 115-20 (*rhyme*) . . . . . (fol. 119)

John Foxe

(1516-1587)

1570. (In *The First Volume of the Ecclesiasticall history contaynyng the Actes and Monumentes of thynges passed in every Kynges tyme in this Realme* [1] . . ., in *prose*)
Par. xxix. 106-7 . . . . . (fol. 486)
Par. ix. 132 . . . . . (fol. 486)

Robert Peterson

(fl. 1570)

1576. (In his translation of the *Galateo of Maister Iohn Della Casa*)
Inf. i. 68-9 (*rhyme*) . . . . . (fol. 73)
Inf. xxiii. 101-2 (*unrhymed verse*) . . . . . (fol. 77)
Inf. xxv. 2 (*unrhymed verse*) . . . . . (fol. 81)
Inf. xvii. 117 (*unrhymed verse*) . . . . . (fol. 81)
Purg. xviii. 111, 113-14 (*rhyme*) . . . . . (fol. 82)
Purg. xxx. 142-5 (*rhyme*) . . . . . (fol. 83)
Par. xvii. 129 (*unrhymed verse*) . . . . . (fol. 83)
Purg. xxx. 131 (*unrhymed verse*) . . . . . (fol. 87)

George Pettie

(1548-1589)

1581. (In *The Civile Conversacion of M. Stephen Guazzo*, translated from Guazzo's *Civil Conversatione*)
Inf. xi. 92-3 (*rhyme*) . . . . . (ed. 1586, p. 6)
Inf. xvi. 124-6 (*rhyme*) . . . . . (p. 71)
Par. xvi. 76 (*unrhymed verse*) . . . . . (p. 83)
Par. viii. 142-8 (*rhyme*) . . . . . (p. 142)

Robert Greene *

(*c.* 1560-1592)

1583. Alleged translation of a 'Saying of *Dant*' (in *Mamillia*, ed. Grosart, vol. ii, p. 264) [2]

* See also under 1587.

[1] Commonly known as the *Book of Martyrs*. These references to Dante do not occur in the first edition.

[2] Nothing corresponding to the passages translated by Greene is anywhere to be found in Dante's works.

George Whetstone

(*c.* 1544–*c.* 1587)

1584. Conv. i. 11, ll. 53–4 (in *A Mirour for Magestrates of Cyties*, fol. 21)

1586. Conv. i. 11, ll. 53–4 . . (in *The English Myrror*, fol. 20)

Bartholomew Young

(*c.* 1577–1598)

1586. Purg. xxii. 145–6 (*prose*) (in *The Fourth Booke of the Civile Conversacion of M. Stephen Guazzo*, translated from Guazzo's *Civil Conversatione*, p. 188)

Robert Greene *

1587. Alleged translation of 'certaine verses written by *Dante* to this effect: Il Vitio chi conduce' (in *Farewell to Follie*, ed. Grosart, vol. ix, pp. 335–6) [1]

* See also under 1583.

T. K. [i.e. Thomas Kyd]

(*c.* 1557–*c.* 1595)

1588. (In *The Housholders Philosophie*, translated from Torquato Tasso's *Il Padre di Famiglia*—in *rhyme*)

Inf. xvii. 90 . . . . . (fol. 15)

Inf. xi. 101–11 . . . . . (foll. 25–6)

Thomas Hughes

(fl. 1580)

1588. Inf. v. 121–3 (*blank verse*) (in *The Misfortunes of Arthur*)

Sir John Harington

(1561–1612)

1591. Inf. i. 1–3 (*terza rima*) [2] (in *Orlando Furioso in English Heroical Verse*: Allegorie of the *Fourth* Booke)

John Keper

(*c.* 1547–*c.* 1600)

1598. (In *The Courtiers Academie*, translated from the *Discorsi Cavallereschi* of Annibale Romei)

Inf. v. 103 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 58)

[1] Nothing corresponding to the passages translated by Greene is anywhere to be found in Dante's works.

[2] The first instance of the use of *terza rima* in an English translation from Dante.

Keper (*continued*)

1598. Inf. v. 103 (*unrhymed verse*) . . . . . (p. 74)
Canz. viii. 101 (*unrhymed verse*) . . . . . (p. 188)
Canz. viii ? (*unrhymed verse*) . . . . . (p. 190)
Conv. iv. 3, ll. 38, 43–5 . . . . . (p. 218)

CENTURY XVII

John Sanford

(*c.* 1565–1629)

1605. (In his *Grammer, or Introduction to the Italian Tongue*—in *prose*)
Inf. ii. 37 . . . . . (p. 15)
Purg. i. 66 . . . . . (p. 19)

Samson Lennard

(d. 1633)

1612. (In *The Mysterie of Iniquitie. By Philip Morney*)
Purg. xvi. 127–9 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (p. 444)
Mon. iii. 3, ll. 53–69 . . . . . (p. 444)
Par. ix. 131–41 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 444)
Par. xviii. 127–30 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 444)
Par. xxix. 89–96 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 445)
Par. xxix. 104–7 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 445)

Robert Tofte

(d. 1620)

1615. Canz. xiii. 1–3 (*rhyme*) (in *The Blazon of Jealousie*, translated from Varchi's *Lettura della Gelosia*, p. 44)

Simon Birckbek

(1584–1656)

1634. (In *The Protestants Evidence, taken out of good Records . . .*—in *rhymed couplets*)
Par. ix. 130–6 . . . . . (p. 58)
Par. xviii. 127–9 . . . . . (p. 58)
Par. xxix. 109–26 . . . . . (pp. 58–60)
Inf. xix. 106–11 . . . . . (p. 60)

Edward Dacres

(fl. 1630)

1636. (In *Machiavel's Discourses upon the First Decade of Titus Livius*)
Purg. vii. 121–3 (*heroic couplets*) . . . (ed. 1674, p. 52)
Conv. i. 11, ll. 53–4 (*heroic couplet*) . . . . (p. 163)

John Milton
(1608–1674)

1641. Inf. xix. 115–17 (*blank verse*) (in his treatise *Of Reformation touching Church Discipline in England*)

Thomas Stanley
(1625–1678)

1651. Canz. viii. 52–3 (*rhyme*) (in *A Platonic Discourse upon Love. Written in Italian by John Picus Mirandula, in Explication of a Sonnet by Hieronimo Benivieni*, § v, p. 219)

Jeremy Taylor
(1613–1667)

1653. Par. xxiv. 101–2 (*prose*) (in *The Great Exemplar . . . The History of the Life and Death of the ever-blessed Jesus Christ*, Part ii, Sect. xii, Discourse xiv: *Of the Miracles wrought by Jesus*,[1] § 4)

Edward Stillingfleet
(1635–1699)

1662. (In *Origines Sacrae: or, A Rational Account of the Grounds of Natural and Revealed Religion*)
Par. xxiv. 88–90, 91–6 (*prose*) . . . (Bk. ii, ch. ix, § 19)
Par. xxiv. 97–9, 100–2, 103–4, 106–8 (*prose*)[2] (Bk. ii, ch. x, § 4)

Sir Thomas Browne
(1605–1682)

1672. (In *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*)
Par. xxv. 124–6 (*prose*) . . . . . (Bk. vii, ch. x)

Henry Neville
(1620–1694)

1675. (In *The Discourses of Nicholas Machiavel*)
Purg. vii. 121–3 (*heroic couplets*) . . . . . (p. 283)
Conv. i. 11, ll. 53–4 . . . . . (p. 322)

Thomas Rymer
(1641–1713)

1693. Par. vi. 133–4 (*blank verse*) (in *A Short View of Tragedy*, ch. vi, p. 76)

[1] This translation from Dante does not occur in the first edition (1649) of the *Great Exemplar*; it was added, with other 'additionals', in the second edition (1653).

[2] These passages are translated, not direct from the original, but from a Latin version (see pp. 127-30).

Century XVIII

Jonathan Richardson

(1665–1745)

1719. Inf. xxxiii. 1–77 (*blank verse*) (in *A Discourse on the Dignity, Certainty, Pleasure, and Advantage, of the Science of a Connoisseur*, pp. 29–32)

1734. Purg. xxx. 28–30, 32 (*prose*) (in *Explanatory Notes and Remarks on Milton's Paradise Lost*, p. 413)

Pierre Desmaizeaux

(*c.* 1673–1745)

1735. (In his translation of *The Dictionary Historical and Critical of Mr. Peter Bayle*—in *heroic couplets*)

Purg. xx. 43–5	(in the article *Capet, Hugh*)
Inf. xv. 73–8	(in the article *Dante*)
Purg. xxiii. 91–102	(*ibid.*)
Purg. xvi. 127–9	(*ibid.*)
Par. v. 73–8	(*ibid.*)
Inf. xix. 106–11	(*ibid.*)
Par. x. 133–8	(*ibid.*)
Inf. xv. 79–87	(*ibid.*)
Par. xvii. 70–5	(*ibid.*)
Dante's epitaph[1]	(*ibid.*)

Thomas Gray

(1716–1771)

c. 1737. Inf. xxxiii. 1–77 (*blank verse*)[2] (in *Works*, ed. Gosse, 1884, vol. i, pp. 157–60)

Francis Peck

(1692–1743)

1740. Par. ix. 132; xxix. 104–7 (*prose*) (in *New Memoirs of the Life and Poetical Works of Mr. John Milton*, p. 170)

Joseph Spence

(1699–1768)

1746. Inf. xxiv. 1–18 (in *four stanzas*,[3] 'made into a Song in imitation of the Earl of Surry's Stile') (in *Dodsley's Museum*, vol. i, p. 57)

[1] The six lines beginning 'Iura monarchiae', &c., which Bayle and Desmaizeaux, in common with most writers of that and a later day, supposed to have been written by Dante himself.

[2] First published in 1884.

[3] A very free rendering, the fourth stanza especially being greatly expanded and altered from the original. It was printed anonymously, but assigned to Spence by J. Warton, in his *Pope* (1797), vol. iv, p. 283.

Giuseppe Marc' Antonio Baretti

(1719–1789)

1753. (In *A Dissertation upon the Italian Poetry*—in *prose*)
Inf. iii. 1–9, 22–3, 25–30, 46–51, 100–1, 103–8 . . (pp. 36–9)
Inf. xxxiii. 1–9, 13–21 . . . . . (pp. 42–3)
Inf. xxxiii. 37–78, 79–84 . . . . . (pp. 46–9)
Purg. i. 22–7 . . . . . (p. 57)
Par. xxviii. 127–9 . . . . . (p. 60)

Joseph Warton

(1722–1800)

1756. Inf. xxxiii. 43–75 (*prose*) (in *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*, vol. i)

Thomas Nugent

(*c.* 1700–1772)

1758. (In translation of *Voltaire's Essay on Universal History*)
Purg. i. 22–4 (*prose*) . . . (ed. 1759, vol. iii, p. 166)

William Huggins

(1696–1761)

1760. Purg. xi. 1–21 (*heroic couplets*)[1] (in *British Magazine*, vol. i, p. 266)

Anonymous

1761. (In *New and General Biographical Dictionary*, art. *Dante*)
Purg. xvi. 127–9 (*prose*)

Ellis Farneworth

(d. 1763)

1762. (In *Works of Nicholas Machiavel*)
Purg. vii. 121–3 (*quatrains*) . . . (ed. 1775, vol. iii, p. 52)
Conv. i. 11, ll. 53–4 (*heroic couplet*) . . (vol. iii, p. 169)

Charles Burney *

(1726–1814)

1761. Inferno (*prose*) (unpublished)[2]
1771. Purg. ii. 113–14 (*heroic couplet*)[3]

* See also under 1782.

[1] Printed anonymously, but assigned to Huggins by the writer of his biography in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[2] Madame d'Arblay, in her *Memoirs of Dr. Burney*, records that her father, to distract his grief after the death of his first wife in 1761, made a prose translation of the *Inferno* (vol. i, p. 151), which was still in existence 'amongst his posthumous relics' at the date of her writing (1832).

[3] These two lines in the original were placed as a motto on the title-page of

Earl of Carlisle

(1748–1825)

1772. Inf. xxxiii. 1–75 (*heroic couplets*) [1] (in *Poems*, 1773, pp. 13–17)

William Julius Mickle

(1735–1788)

1775. Purg. vi. 76–8 (*prose*) (in *Lusiad*, ed. 1810, p. 700)

Thomas Warton

(1728–1790)

1781. (In vol. iii of his *History of English Poetry*—in *prose*)
Inf. iii. 1–9 . . . . . (ed. 1824, vol. iv, p. 63)
Inf. xvii. 84, 99 . . . . . (ed. 1824, vol. iv, p. 68)
Inf. xxxiii. 13–75 . . . . (ed. 1824, vol. iv, pp. 72–4)

William Hayley

(1745–1820)

1782. (In the notes to his *Third Epistle on Epic Poetry*)
Son. xxxii (sonnet, with the same scheme of rhymes as the original) [2]
Inf. i–iii (*terza rima*)

Charles Burney *

1782. Purg. ii. 73–92, 106–17 (*heroic couplets*) (in vol. ii of his *History of Music*)

* See also under 1761, 1771.

Charles Rogers

(1711–1784)

1782. Inferno ('The Inferno of Dante Translated') (*blank verse*) (issued anonymously)

John Hoole

(1727–1803)

1783. (In *Orlando Furioso. Translated, with notes*)
Inf. xxxii. 62 (*blank verse*) . . . (ed. 1807, vol. i, p. 197)
Inf. xix. 115–17 (*heroic couplets*) . . . . (vol. ii, p. 266)
Purg. i. 1–3 (*heroic couplets*) . . . . . (vol. vi, p. 124)

Dr. Burney's *Present State of Music in France and Italy*. Madame D'Arblay gives her father's translation of the lines (which he made at the time, but did not print) in her *Memoirs of Dr. Burney* (vol. i, p. 226).

[1] Privately printed; published in 1773.

[2] The sonnet addressed to Guido Cavalcanti, beginning 'Guido, vorrei'. Hayley styles his rendering an 'Invitation'.

Henry Boyd *

(d. 1832)

1785. Inferno ('A Translation of the Inferno of Dante Alighieri, in English Verse') (*six-lined stanzas*, rhyming *a a b c c b*)
Purg. xxx. 115–41 (*same metre*) . . . (vol. i, pp. 179–181)

* See also under 1802.

Anonymous

1785. (In *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. lv, part 1)
Inf. iv. 59–60 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 381)
Inf. iv. 88–90 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (p. 381)

William Parsons

(*c.* 1785–1807)

1785. Inf. v. 26–138 ('The Story of Francesca from the fifth canto of Dante's *Inferno*') (*heroic couplets*) (in *The Florence Miscellany*. pp. 116 ff.)

Christopher Hervey

(fl. 1780)

1785. Inf. xxxiii. 30 (*blank verse*) (in *Letters from Portugal, Spain, Italy and Germany in the years* 1759–61, vol. ii, p. 394)

Henry Francis Cary *

(1772–1844)

1792. (In *Letter to Miss Seward*, from Christ Church, Oxford)
Purg. iii. 79–85 (*prose*)
Purg. v. 37–9 (*prose*)

* See also under 1805, 1806, 1814, 1819, 1831, 1844.

Anonymous

1792. (In *The Amusing Instructor, or Key to the Italian Language*, by Antonio Montucci) (in *blank verse*) [1]
Inf. xxiv. 46–51 . . . . . (p. 34)
Inf. xxxiii. 40, 42 . . . . . (p. 90)
Purg. xx. 10–12 . . . . . (p. 112)

Henry Constantine Jennings

(1731–1819)

1794. (In *A Translation of the Fifth Canto of Dante's Inferno, and of the entire Scene and Narrative of Hugolino*—in *blank verse*) [2]

[1] The translations are stated in the preface to be by 'one of the author's English friends'.

[2] Privately printed; published in 1798 in *Summary and Free Reflections, in which the Great Outline only, and Principal Features, of several Interesting Subjects, are impartially traced, and candidly examined.*

Jennings (*continued*)

1794. Inf. v. 1–138 (condensed by 35 lines)
Inf. xxxii. 125–xxxiii. 89 (condensed by 26 lines)

Hester Lynch Piozzi

(1741–1821)

1794. Inf. iii. 9 (*blank verse*) (in *British Synonymy*, vol. ii, p. 89)

Earl of Charlemont

(1728–1799)

1796. Inf. iv. 130–5 (*blank verse*) (in *Some Hints concerning the State of Science at the Revival of Letters, grounded on a Passage of Dante in his Inferno, Canto* iv, v. 130) [1]

William Seward

(1747–1799)

1798. Purg. xx. 52, 43–5 (*prose*) (in *Anecdotes of Distinguished Persons*) (vol. iii, p. 310)

Thomas James Mathias

(*c.* 1754–1835)

1798. (In *Translations of the Passages quoted in the Pursuits of Literature* [2]—in *prose*)

Purg. xii. 84	(ed. 1801, p. 30)
Inf. v. 130–3, 112–14	(pp. 57–8)
Inf. vi. 8–11	(p. 171)
Inf. iv. 81	(p. 243)
Inf. vi. 100–2	(p. 259)
Inf. xxxii. 1–8	(p. 442)

Century XIX

Henry Boyd *

1802. Divina Commedia [3] ('The Divina Commedia of Dante Alighieri translated into English Verse') (*six-lined stanzas*, rhyming *a a b c c b*)

* See also under 1785.

[1] Read before the Royal Irish Academy on April 9, 1796; published in the *Transactions* in 1797 (vol. vi, p. 4 of *Polite Literature*). Lord Charlemont translated other portions of the *Divina Commedia* (in a note in his *Select Sonnets of Petrarch*, p. 95, he speaks of his 'essay towards a version of some cantos and singular passages of Dante'), including *Inferno* x, but these have not been printed, and apparently have not been preserved.

[2] Three editions of this work were published in 1798.

[3] First complete English translation of the *Divina Commedia* published.

Edward Atkyns Bray

(1778–1857)

c. 1803. (In *Poetical Remains of Edward Atkyns Bray*, 1859)
Canz. ix. 1–19 (*rhymed couplets*) . . . (vol. i, p. 213)
Son. xi (V. N. § 21) (*rhymed sonnet*) . . (vol. i, p. 214)

Richard Wharton

(*c.* 1760–*c.* 1820)

1804. (In *Fables: Consisting of Select Parts from Dante, Berni, Chaucer, and Ariosto. Imitated in English Heroic Verse*)
Inf. iii (*heroic couplets*) . . . . . (pp. 1–8)
Inf. xxxii. 124–xxxiii. 90 (*heroic couplets*) . . (pp. 10–16)

Joseph Cooper Walker

(*c.* 1762–1810)

1805. (In *An Historical and Critical Essay on the Revival of the Drama in Italy*)
Par. xxx. 22–4 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 14)

Henry Francis Cary *

1805. Inf. i–xvii ('The Inferno of Dante Alighieri: Canto i–xvii. With a Translation in English Blank Verse')
Conv. i. 3, ll. 15–43 (in *Life of Dante*, prefixed to above, pp. xxii–iv)
1806. Inf. xviii–xxxiv (*blank verse*)

* See also under 1792, 1814, 1819, 1831, 1844.

Capell Lofft

(1751–1824)

(In *Laura: or, An Anthology of Sonnets . . . Original and translated.* 5 vols.)[1]
1806. Son. xxxiii ('Io maledico il dì') (*rhymed sonnet*) (vol. iii, Son. 435)
Son. xxxiii ('Io maledico il dì') (*another version*) (vol. iii, Son. 436)
Son. xxxv ('Io son sì vago') (*rhymed sonnet*) (vol. iii, Son. 445)
Son. xxxviii ('Molti volendo dir') (*rhymed sonnet*) (vol. iii, Son. 491)
1807. Son. xxiv, V. N. § 41 ('Deh peregrini') (*rhymed sonnet*) (vol. iv, Son. 573)

Nathaniel Howard

1807. Inferno ('The Inferno of Dante Alighieri. Translated into English Blank Verse')

[1] Published in 1813–14. The dates assigned are those appended to the several translations.

Anonymous

1812. Inf. x. 49-51, 76-81 (*prose*) (in *Quarterly Review*, vol. vii, pp. 370-1)

Joseph Hume

(1767-1843)

1812. Inferno ('Inferno. A Translation from Dante Alighieri, into English Blank Verse')

Robert Bland

(*c.* 1779-1825)

1813. Inf. iii. 64, 49-51 (*terza rima*) (in *Collections from the Greek Anthology*, ed. 1833, p. 258)

1814. (In *Quarterly Review*, vol. xi, art. i, in *terza rima*)

Inf. i. 79-87 . . . . . (p. 11)
Inf. iii. 64, 49-51 . . . . . (p. 12)
Inf. xxx. 64-6 . . . . . (p. 12)
Inf. xxvi. 25-31 . . . . . (p. 13)
Purg. viii. 1-6 . . . . . (p. 13)
Purg. xi. 91-102, 115-17 . . . . . (p. 14)
Purg. xxiv. 49-62 (*prose*) . . . . . (pp. 14-15)

Robert Morehead *

(1777-1842)

1814. Inf. xxxii. 1-39, 125-39; xxxiii. 1-78 ('Story of Ugolino') (*Spenserian stanzas*) (in *Poetical Epistles and Specimens of Poetical Translation*,[1] pp. 226-33)

* See also under 1819.

Ugo Foscolo *

(1778-1827)

1814. (In *The Letters of Ortis to Lorenzo*, in *blank verse*)

Par. xvii. 58-9 . . . . . (p. 61)
Inf. vi. 4 . . . . . (p. 161)

* See also under 1818, 1823.

Henry Francis Cary

1814. Divina Commedia ('The Vision: or, Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise of Dante Alighieri') (*blank verse*) [2]

V. N. § 3, ll. 98-9 . . . . . (in note to *Inf.* x)
V. E. i. 8, ll. 25-64 . . . . . (in note to *Purg.* xxvi)
V. E. i. 10, ll. 11-34 . . . . . (in note to *Purg.* xxvi)
V. E. ii. 6, ll. 81-2 . . . . . (in note to *Par.* x)

* See also under 1792, 1805, 1806, 1819, 1831, 1844.

[1] Published anonymously.

[2] The first edition (in three diminutive volumes) of Cary's complete translation of the *Commedia*.

John Herman Merivale *

(1779–1844)

1814. Purg. viii. 1–6 (*ottava rima*) (in *Orlando in Roncesvalles*, Canto iv)

* See also under 1838, 1844.

William Hazlitt *

(1778–1830)

1814. (In Essay on *Posthumous Fame*, in *The Round Table*, May 22, 1814)

Inf. iv. 76–8? (*blank verse*) [1]

1815. (In Essay on *Sismondi's Literature of the South*, in *Edinburgh Review*, June, 1815. Vol. xxv)

Inf. v. 138 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 47)

Inf. x. 22–4 (*blank verse*) [1] . . . . . (p. 48)

Inf. iv. 76–8? (*blank verse*) [2] . . . . . (p. 48)

Inf. xi. 8 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 48)

* See also under 1826.

George Frederick Nott

(1767–1841)

1815. (In *The Works of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, and of Sir Thomas Wyatt, the Elder*)

Inf. xxxiii. 62–3 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, p. 234)

Purg. v. 106–8 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, p. 273)

Percy Bysshe Shelley *

(1792–1822)

1816. Son. xxxii ('Dante Alighieri to Guido Cavalcanti') (*rhymed sonnet*)

Son. xi (V. N. § 21), ll. 14–16 (*blank verse*) [3]

* See also under 1820, 1821.

Thomas Love Peacock *

(1785–1866)

1816. Purg. viii. 1–6 (an imitation in a *terzetto of three quatrains*) (in *Headlong Hall*, ch. xiii)

* See also under 1860.

[1] A very free rendering.

[2] This identification is very doubtful, but it seems to be the passage Hazlitt had in mind.

[3] The dates of these two pieces are conjectural.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge *

(1772–1834)

1817. Canz. vi (Conv. ii), ll. 53–5 (*rhyme*) (in *Biographia Literaria*, ed. 1870, p. 229)

* See also under 1819.

Ugo Foscolo *

1818. (In *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxx. September, 1818)
Canz. xii. 83 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 345)
Inf. xxix. 13–15, 18–20, 25–6, 31–5 (*prose*) . . (pp. 354–6)
Epist. ix ('Amico Florentino') . . . . . (p. 350)
Par. xvii. 58–60 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 351)

* See also under 1814, 1823.

Henry Hallam

(1777–1859)

1818. V. E. i. 10, ll. 12–20 (in *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages*, ed. 1855, vol. iii, p. 441)

Elizabeth Barrett Barrett*

(1809–1861)

c. 1819. Inf. i. 1–27 (*blank verse*) (in *Elizabeth Barrett Browning's hitherto unpublished Poems and Stories*,[1] ed. H. Buxton Forman, 1914. Vol. i, pp. 133–5)

* See also under E. B. Browning, *c.* 1850.

Robert Morehead *

1819. (In *Edinburgh Magazine*, N.S. Vol. iv)[2]
Inf. iii. 1–9 (*Spenserian stanza*) . . . . . (p. 4)
Inf. xxxii. 1–39 (*Spenserian stanzas*) . . . (pp. 9 ff.)

* See also under 1814.

William Stewart Rose *

(1775–1843)

1819. (In *Letters from the North of Italy*)
Par. xvii. 71–2 (*blank verse*) . . . . (vol. i, p. 44)
Purg. vi. 143–4 (*blank verse*) . . . . (vol. i, p. 172)
Purg. xxx. 25–7 (*terza rima*) . . . . (vol. i, p. 266)
Par. i. 58–60 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (vol. ii, p. 205)
Par. i. 40 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (vol. ii, p. 215)

* See also under 1823, 1825.

[1] Privately printed at Boston, Mass.
[2] Published anonymously, under signature D.

Henry Francis Cary *

1819. Divina Commedia ('The Vision . . . of Dante Alighieri') (*blank verse*) (second edition, in 3 vols. 8vo) [1]

Sonnet to Busone da Gubbio [2] (*rhymed sonnet*) . (in *Life of Dante* prefixed to above, p. xix)

V. N. Son. i (*rhymed sonnet*) . . (in *Life of Dante*, p. xxxiii)

V. N. Son. xxiv (*rhymed sonnet*) . . . . . (in *Life of Dante*, p. xxxiv)

Canz. viii (Conv. iv), ll. 121–39 (*rhyme*) . . . . . (in *Life of Dante*, p. xxxvii)

Sonnet to Brunetto Latini [3] (*rhymed sonnet*) . . . . (in *Life of Dante*, p. xxxix)

Sonnet on Melancholy [4] (*rhymed sonnet*) . . . . . (in *Life of Dante*, p. xxxix)

S. P. ii. 25–6 (*blank verse*) [5] . . . . (in note to *Inf.* i)

And numerous passages from Dante's prose works (in *Life of Dante* and notes) [6]

* See also under 1792, 1805, 1806, 1831, 1844.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge *

1819. (In MS. notes in his copy of the second edition of Cary's translation preserved in the British Museum)

Par. i. 14–15 (*blank verse*) . . . . (in vol. iii, p. 4)

Par. i. 24–5 (*prose*) . . . . . (in vol. iii, p. 5)

Par. i. 76–7 (*prose*) . . . . . (in vol. iii, p. 9)

* See also under 1817.

James Henry Leigh Hunt *

(1784–1859)

1819–21. (In *The Indicator*)

Purg. ii. 10–29 (*terza rima*) (in No. xv, *Mists and Fogs*)

Inf. xxvi. 91–142 (*prose*) (in No. xvii, *More News of Ulysses*)

* See also under 1825, 1844, 1846.

[1] Only translations now introduced for the first time are registered here.

[2] 'Tu, che stampi lo colle ombroso e fresco', attributed to Dante (*Canzoniere*, ed. Fraticelli, p. 282).

[3] 'Messer Brunetto, questa pulzelletta', attributed to Dante (*Canz.*, ed. Frat., p 272).

[4] 'Un dì si venne a me Malinconia', attributed to Dante (*Canz.*, ed. Frat., p. 274).

[5] The second (Ps. xxxi) of the *Sette Salmi Penitenziali*, attributed to Dante (*Canz.*, ed. Frat., p. 340).

[6] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge* (*U.S.A.*) *Dante Society*, pp. 12–13.

Lord Byron *

(1788–1824)

1819. Inf. xxviii. 117 (in *Don Juan*, Canto i, Stanza 82, ll. i–2)

1820. Inf. v. 97–142 ('Francesca of Rimini') (*terza rima*)[1] (in *Letter to John Murray*, from Ravenna)

* See also under 1821.

William Roscoe

(1753–1831)

1820. Ball. vi ('Io mi son pargoletta') (*rhyme*) (in *Letter from Chat Moss*)[2]

Percy Bysshe Shelley *

1820. Canz. vi (Conv. ii) (*rhyme*)
Purg. xxviii. 1–51 (*terza rima*)
Inf. iii. 9 (*blank verse*) (in *Prometheus Unbound*, III. iv. 136)

* See also under 1816, 1821; and under **Medwin** (below).

Lord Grenville

(1759–1834)

c. 1820. Inf. i. 79–84 (*rhyme*) (printed in Clayden's *Rogers and his Contemporaries*, vol. i, p. 364)

Thomas Medwin

(1788–1869)

c. 1820. Inf. xxxiii. 22–75 (*terza rima*)[3] (in Medwin's *Life of Shelley*, vol. ii, pp. 18 ff.)

Anonymous: Y.

1821. (In *Edinburgh Magazine*, N.S. Vol. viii, May, 1821)
Inf. v (*terza rima*)[4] . . . . . (pp. 417 ff.)

Peter Bayley

(*c.* 1778–1823)

1821. (In *Sketches from St. George's Fields. Second Series.* By Giorgione di Castel Chiuso)
Inf. iii. 1–9 (*heroic couplets*) . . . . . (p. 24)

Lord Byron *

1821. Purg. viii. 1–6 (in *Don Juan*, Canto iii, Stanza 108, ll. 1–6)

* See also under 1819, 1820.

[1] Not published until 1830.

[2] Printed in *Life of William Roscoe*, vol. ii, pp. 246–7.

[3] According to Medwin, Shelley introduced into this version 'numerous corrections, which almost indeed made it his own'.

[4] Dated December 1820.

Percy Bysshe Shelley *

1821. Inf. xxxiii. 29–30 (in *The Boat on the Serchio*, ll. 39–40)
Canz. vi (Conv. ii), ll. 53–61 (*rhyme*) (in *Advertisement to Epipsychidion*) [1]

* See also under 1816, 1820.

Lady Morgan

(*c.* 1783–1859)

1821. (In *Italy*)
Inf. iii. 38–9 (*heroic couplet*) . . . . . (vol. i, p. 289)
Par. viii. 142–4 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. iii, p. 239)

Anonymous

1821. (In *New Monthly Magazine*)
Inf. xxxiii. 1–78 (*heroic couplets*) . . . (vol. ii, pp. 327–8)

Anonymous

1822. (In *New Monthly Magazine*, in *blank verse*)
Inf. v. 121–3, 139–42 . . . . . (vol. iv, p. 351)
Inf. xiii. 2–6, 33–7, 44–5, 58–78 . . . (vol. iv, pp. 45 ff.)
Inf. iii. 87 . . . . . (vol. v, p. 164)

John Taaffe

1822. (In his *Comment on the Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri*)
Inf. xix. 106–8 (*octosyllabic terza rima*) . . . . (p. 33)
Purg. xx. 88–90 (*octosyllabic terza rima*) . . . (p. 74)
Par. xviii. 127–36 (*octosyllabic terza rima*) . . . (p. 76)
Par. xxi. 127–35 (*octosyllabic terza rima*) . . . (p. 77)
Canz. iv (V. N. § 32), ll. 16–28 (*rhymed quatrains*) . . (p. 110)
Son. xxi (V. N. § 38), ll. 1–4 (*rhymed quatrain*) . . (p. 111)
Purg. x. 124–6 (*octosyllabic terza rima*) . . . . (p. 124)
Canz. xi. 1–3 (*rhyme*) . . . . . (p. 146)
Canz. xi. 61–3, 76–9 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 147)
Par. xix. 79–81 (*octosyllabic terza rima*) . . . . (p. 240)
Inf. v. 40–2 (*octosyllabic terza rima*) . . . . (p. 280)
Inf. v. 46–9 (*octosyllabic terza rima*) . . . . (p. 281)
Inf. v. 98–9 (*octosyllabic terza rima*) . . . . (p. 320)
Inf. vi. 68–9 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 370)
Inf. vii. 1 (*heroic couplet*) . . . . . (p. 399)
Inf. xxxiv. 1 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 414)

[1] The translation of the whole Canzone had been made in 1820.

Taaffe (*continued*)

1822. Inf. vii. 16–18 (*octosyllabic terza rima*) . . . . (p. 416)
Inf. vii. 19–21 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 422)
Inf. vii. 22–4 (*octosyllabic terza rima*) . . . . (p. 425)
Inf. vii. 27–35 (*octosyllabic terza rima*) . . . . (p. 430)
Inf. vii. 73–7, 85–93 (*octosyllabic terza rima*) . . (pp. 445–6)
Inf. i. 86–7 (*octosyllabic terza rima*) . . . . (p. 457)
And sundry passages from the prose works of Dante [1]

Charles Mills

(1788–1826)

1822. (In his *Travels of Theodore Ducas*)
Sundry passages from the *Divina Commedia* (in *prose*) and other works of Dante [2]

Anonymous

1823. (In *Blackwood's Magazine*, vol. xiii, Feb. 1823)
Conv. i. 3, ll. 20–43 . . . . . (p. 142)
Purg. xxii. 97–9 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 144)
Inf. xix. 106–8, 112–14 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 148)
Par. xxvii. 46–54 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 149)
Epist. ix, ll. 46–52 . . . . . (p. 150)
Epist. vii, ll. 113–16, 142–7 . . . . . (p. 151)

Ugo Foscolo *

1823. (In his *Essays on Petrarch*)
Par. x. 28 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 84)
Conv. i. 7, ll. 92–5 . . . . . (pp. 170–1)
Purg. xi. 135–41 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 198)
Epist. ix ('Amico Florentino') . . . . . (pp. 203–4)
Mon. i. 12, ll. 1–2 . . . . . (p. 207)
Son. xi (V. N. § 21) (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 265)

* See also under 1814, 1818.

William Stewart Rose *

1823. Inf. xv. 121–4 (*terza rima*) (in *The Orlando Furioso translated into English Verse*, vol. i, p. 32)

* See also under 1819, 1825.

[1] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, pp. 15–16.

[2] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, pp. 108–9.

Thomas Roscoe

(1791–1871)

1823. Inf. xxxiii. 1–75 (*terza rima*) (in his translation of Sismondi's *Historical View of the Literature of the South of Europe*, ed. 1850, vol. i, pp. 265–9)

Thomas Babington Macaulay *

(1800–1859)

1824. Inf. xxx. 136–8 (*prose*) (in *Criticisms on the Principal Italian Writers. No. i. Dante*[1]—contributed to *Knight's Quarterly Magazine*)

* See also under 1825, 1840.

Lorenzo da Ponte

(1749–*c.* 1835)

1825. (In *Critique on Certain Passages in Dante*,[2] in *New York Review and Athenaeum Magazine*, in *blank verse*)
Inf. i. 31, 36
Inf. iii. 72–5, 109–14, 117, 125–6
Inf. v. 76–8

James Henry Leigh Hunt *

1825. Canz. ('Io miro i crespi e gli biondi capegli '),[3] ll. 20–1, 69–70 (*blank verse*) (in *Criticism on Female Beauty*,[4] in *New Monthly Magazine*, July–August)

* See also under 1819, 1844, 1846.

William Stewart Rose *

1825. (In *The Orlando Furioso translated into English Verse*, vol. iii)
Inf. xix. 115–17 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (p. 239)
Inf. xxv. 79–81 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (p. 311)

* See also under 1819, 1823.

George Procter[5]

1825. Par. xvii. 58–60 (*prose*) (in *The History of Italy, from the Fall of the Western Empire*, vol. i, p. 283)

[1] In *Miscellaneous Writings*, ed. 1875, p. 28.

[2] Reprinted by T. W. Koch, in *Dante in America* (in *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*).

[3] Attributed to Dante (*Canz.*, ed. Frat., pp. 236–9).

[4] Reprinted in *Men, Women, and Books*.

[5] Procter wrote under the pseudonym of George Perceval.

Thomas Babington Macaulay *

1825 (In *Essay on Milton*,[1] in *Edinburgh Review*)
Inf. xxxi. 58–64 (*prose*)
Inf. xxix. 46–51 (*prose*)

* See also under 1824, 1840.

Jonathan Hatfield

(1793–1840)

1826. Inferno i (*terza rima*) (in *An Attempt at an English Translation, in terza rima, of the first canto of Dante's Inferno*, etc. By a late scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge) [2]

John Latham

(1787–1853)

1826. (In *Poems, Original and Translated*,[3] 1836)
Inf. xxxiii. 1–75 ('The Story of Count Ugolino') (*terza rima*) . . . . . (pp. 67–70)

Anonymous

1826. Purg. xxxiii. 141 (*prose*) (in *Westminster Review*, vol. vi, Oct. 1826, p. 445)

John Browning

1826. (In *The History of Tuscany*, from the Italian of L. Pignotti)
V. N. § 2, ll. 50–2 . . . . . (vol. ii, p. 200)
Inf. xxiv. 50–1 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. iv, p. 347)

William Hazlitt *

1826. Inf. iii. 9 (*blank verse*) (in *The Plain Speaker*, vol. i, p. 465)
Inf. x. 22–4 (*blank verse*) [4] (in *Notes of a Journey through France and Italy*, p. 253)
c. 1826. Inf. xxxiii. 73–4 (*blank verse*) (in *Essay on the Fine Arts*)

* See also under 1814, 1815.

[1] *Critical and Historical Essays*, ed. 1866, vol. i, pp. 9–10.

[2] An anonymous pamphlet (of which there are copies in the British Museum, and in the Pollock Dante Collection at Trinity College, Cambridge) of sixteen pages, printed by Gilbert and Rivington, London, 1832. The Dante translation is dated Pisa, December 29, 1826. With it are translations from Claudian (dated Hemsted, April 5, 1825) and from the *Medea* of Euripides (dated Cambridge, September, 1825). Hatfield was Scholar of Trinity, 1815; B.A., 1817; M.A., 1820.

[3] Published anonymously at Sandbach, Cheshire. The translation from Dante, 'composed in April, 1826', was reprinted in the privately printed *English and Latin Poems, Original and Translated*, 1853 (p. 111).

[4] A very free rendering.

Charles Strong

(1784–1864)

1827. Son. xxiv (V. N. § 41) (*rhymed sonnet*) (in *Specimens of Sonnets from the most celebrated Italian Poets; with Translations*)[1]

Anonymous

1827. (In *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxxvi, June, 1827—in *Spenserian stanzas*)
Purg. ii. 10–26 . . . . . (pp. 52–3)
Inf. ix. 64–103 . . . . . (pp. 53–4)

Anonymous

1827. (In *New London Literary Gazette*)
Canz. iv (V. N. § 32) (*rhymed verse*) . . . . (p. 190)

Arthur Henry Hallam *

(1811–1833)

1828. Purg. xvii. 13–15 (*blank verse*) (in letter to Milnes Gaskell, June 25, 1828, printed in *Records of an Eton Schoolboy*,[2] ed. Charles Milnes Gaskell, 1883, p. 124)

* See also under 1831, 1832.

Anna Brownell Jameson

(1794–1860)

1829. (In *The Love of Dante for Beatrice Portinari*, in *The Romance of Biography; or, Memoirs of Women loved and celebrated by Poets*, vol. i, pp. 105 ff.)
Son. xi (V. N. § 21) (*prose*)
Son. xiii (V. N. § 22) (*prose*)
V. N. § 29, ll. 4–11
Canz. iv (V. N. § 32), ll. 15–38 (*prose*)
V. N. § 43, ll. 1–11

Charles Lyell *

(1767–1849)

c. 1830. Vita Nuova and Convivio[3] (*poems* in *unrhymed verse*)

* See also under 1835, 1840, 1842, 1845.

[1] Published anonymously. [2] Privately printed.

[3] Not published. Lyell states in the preface to the first edition of his *Canzoniere of Dante* (1835) that he translated the *Vita Nuova* and *Convivio*, as well as the lyrical poems of Dante (p. viii); only the last were published; the MS. of the translation of the prose treatises does not appear to have been preserved.

Anonymous

1830. (In *Foreign Quarterly Review*)
Conv. ii. 14, ll. 67–85 . . . . . (vol. v, p. 430)
Epist. x, §§ 7–8 . . . . . (vol. v, p. 431)

George William Featherstonhaugh

1830. Inf. xxxiii (selections, in *blank verse*) (in *The Death of Ugolino: a Tragedy*)[1]

Samuel Rogers

(1763–1855)

1830. (In his *Italy*, in *blank verse*)
Par. xvii. 55, 58–60 (in *Florence*)
Purg. viii. 1–6 (in *The Campagna of Florence*)[2]

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow *

(1807–1882)

1830. (In *Origin and Growth of the Languages of Southern Europe and of their Literature*. Inaugural Address at Bowdoin College, Sept. 2, 1830)
Inf. iii. 1–3 (*terza rima*) . . . (p. 103 of reprint, 1907)

* See also under 1839, 1845, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867.

Henry Francis Cary *

1831. Divina Commedia ('The Vision . . . of Dante Alighieri') (*blank verse*) (third edition, in 3 vols. 12mo)

* See also under 1792, 1805, 1806, 1819, 1844.

Henry Stebbing

(1799–1883)

1831. (In *Life of Dante*, in *Lives of Italian Poets*)
Son. i (V. N. § 3) (*rhymed sonnet*) . . . . (vol. i, p. 10)
Son. xx (V. N. § 37) (*rhymed sonnet*) . . (vol. i, pp. 21–2)
Son. xxi (V. N. § 38) (*rhymed sonnet*) . . (vol. i, pp. 24–5)

Edward Dort Griffin

(d. 1830)

1831. Inf. xxxiii. 1–75 (with other fragments from the *Inferno*) (*blank verse*) (in his *Remains*, ed. F. Griffin, pp. 326–37)[3]

[1] In the preface the author states that some years before he had translated the whole of the *Divina Commedia* into blank verse; fragments of his rendering of canto xxxiii of the *Inferno* are embodied in the tragedy. See T. W. Koch, *A List of Danteiana in American Libraries*, p. 31, in *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*.

[2] Freely translated.

[3] See T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, p. 79.

Arthur Henry Hallam *

1831. Par. xxx. 40–2 (*terza rima*) (in *Oration on the Influence of Italian Works of Imagination on the same class of compositions in England*) [1]

1832. Son. vi (V. N. § 13) (*rhymed sonnet*) [2] (in *Remarks upon Professor Rossetti's Disquisizioni sullo Spirito Antipapale*) [3]

* See also 1828.

Charles Macfarlane

(d. 1858)

1832. Conv. i. 3, ll. 33–7, 21–8 (in *The Romance of History*, vol. i, p. 71)

Anonymous

1832. Par. xv. 124–6 (*blank verse*) (in *Edinburgh Review*, vol. lv, July, 1832, p. 548)

Anonymous

1833. Conv. i. 7, ll. 91–103 (in *Edinburgh Review*, vol. lvii, July, 1833, p. 428)

Anonymous: S.

1833. Fragments (in review of Cary, in *New England Magazine*, December, 1833, vol. v, pp. 474–80) [4]

Ichabod Charles Wright *

(1795–1871)

1833. Inferno [5] ('The Inferno of Dante, Translated') (*bastard terza rima—aba cbc ded fef* &c.)

Mon. iii. 1, ll. 19–29 . . . . . (in *Introd.*, p. xvi)
Par. xxv. 40–5 (*prose*) . . . . . (in note to *Inf.* ii)
Conv. iv. 22, ll. 140–4 . . . . . (in note to *Inf.* iii)

* See also under 1836, 1840, 1845, 1854.

Caroline Ward

1834. (In translation of Rossetti's *Disquisizioni sullo Spirito Antipapale*)

[1] Printed in *Remains*, ed. 1863, p. 145.

[2] Hallam intended to translate the *Vita Nuova*; he rendered into verse most of the *Sonnets*, but does not appear to have made any progress with the prose translation. The *Sonnets* appeared to his father to be 'rather too literal and consequently harsh' to be worth printing in his *Remains*.

[3] Printed in *Remains*, ed. 1863, p. 246.

[4] See F. W. Koch, *Catalogue of Cornell Dante Collection*, vol. i, p. 50; ii. p. 412.

[5] A second edition, with portions of the translation recast, and additional notes, appeared in the same year.

Ward (*continued*)

Numerous passages from the prose works of Dante, and a few (in *prose*) from the *Divina Commedia* and *Canzoniere*[1]

Charles Lyell *

1835. Canzoniere ('The Canzoniere of Dante Alighieri, including the Poems of the Vita Nuova and Convito') (*unrhymed*, in metres of original)

V. N. § 1, ll. 1–7 . . . . . (p. xxvii)
Poems of Vita Nuova . . . . . (pp. 1–87)
Canzoni of Convito . . . . . (pp. 89–119)
Canzoniere . . . . . (pp. 142–445)
Ball. x ('Voi che sapete')[2] . . . . . (pp. 142–5)
Canz. ix ('Amor che muovi') . . . . (pp. 146–53)
Canz. xix ('Poscia ch' Amor') . . . . (pp. 154–65)
Canz. xiv ('Io sento sì') . . . . . (pp. 166–75)
Canz. x ('Doglia mi reca') . . . . . (pp. 176–89)
Canz. xx ('Tre donne intorno') . . . . (pp. 190–9)
Canz. xiii ('Ei m'incresce') . . . . (pp. 200–7)
Canz. xvi ('La dispietata mente') . . . (pp. 208–13)
Canz. xii ('Così nel mio parlar') . . . (pp. 214–21)
Canz. ('Io miro i crespi') . . . . . (pp. 222–9)
Canz. xviii ('O patria degna') . . . . (pp. 230–7)
Ball. iv ('Fresca rosa novella')[3] . . . (pp. 238–41)
Ball. ('Io non domando') . . . . . (pp. 242–5)
Canz. ('Giovane donna') . . . . . (pp. 246–51)
Canz. ('Io non pensava') . . . . . (pp. 252–7)
Canz. xv ('Io son venuto al punto') . . . (pp. 258–65)
Son. rinterzato ('Quando il consiglio') . . (pp. 266–9)
Canz. xi ('Amor, dacchè convien') . . . (pp. 270–7)
Canz. ('La bella stella') . . . . . (pp. 278–85)
Canz. ('Dacchè ti piace') . . . . . (pp. 286–93)
Canz. ('Perchè nel tempo rio') . . . . (pp. 294–9)
Canz. ('L'uom che conosce') . . . . (pp. 300–5)
Canz. xxi ('Ahi faulx ris!') . . . . (pp. 306–9)
Sest. i ('Al poco giorno')[3] . . . . . (pp. 310–13)
Sest. ii ('Amor, tu vedi ben')[3] . . . . (pp. 314–19)

* See also under *c.* 1830, 1840, 1842, 1845.

[1] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, pp. 20 3.

[2] The numbering of the poems is that of the *Oxford Dante*; the absence of a number indicates that the poem in question is not included in that edition. Many of the poems translated by Lyell are not now accepted as authentic poems of Dante.

[3] Called a *canzone* by Lyell.

Charles Lyell (*continued*)

1835. Canz. ('L'alta speranza') . . . . . (pp. 320–5)
Ball. iii ('Donne, io non so') . . . . (pp. 326–7)
Ball. vii ('Madonna, quel Signor') . . . (pp. 328–9)
Ball. ii ('Deh nuvoletta') . . . . . (pp. 330–1)
Ball. viii ('Per una ghirlandetta')[1] . . . (pp. 332–5)
Son. liv ('Bicci novel') . . . . . (pp. 336–7)
Son. xxxv ('Io son sì vago') . . . . (pp. 338–9)
Son. ('Ahi lasso! ch' io credea') . . . (pp. 340–1)
Son. xxxi ('E' non è legno') . . . . (pp. 342–3)
Son. xxxiii ('Io maladico il dì') . . . . (pp. 344–5)
Son. xxxviii ('Molti volendo dir') . . . (pp. 346–7)
Son. xxvii ('Dagli occhi della mia donna') . (pp. 348–9)
Son. ('Nelle man vostre') . . . . . (pp. 350–1)
Son. ('Non v' accorgete voi') . . . . (pp. 352–3)
Son. ('Un dì si venne') . . . . . (pp. 354–5)
Son. xlix ('Se vedi gli occhi miei') . . . (pp. 356–7)
Son. ('Dagli occhi belli') . . . . . (pp. 358–9)
Son. ('Volgete gli occhi') . . . . . (pp. 360–1)
Ball. ix ('Poichè saziar non posso')[1] . . (pp. 362–3)
Son. lii ('Chi udisse tossir') . . . . (pp. 364–5)
Son. ('O madre di virtute') . . . . (pp. 366–7)
Son. ('Questa donna ch' andar') . . . . (pp. 368–9)
Son. ('Ben dico certo') . . . . . (pp. 370–1)
Son. xxvi ('Chi guarderà giammai') . . . (pp. 372–3)
Son. ('Alessandro lasciò') . . . . . (pp. 374–5)
Son. xxviii ('Da quella luce') . . . . (pp. 376–7)
Son. xxix ('Di donne io vidi') . . . . (pp. 378–9)
Ball. vi ('Io mi son pargoletta) . . . . (pp. 380–3)
Son. ('Deh ragioniamo') . . . . . (pp. 384–5)
Son. xxx ('Due donne in cima') . . . . (pp. 386–7)
Son. ('Lo fin piacer') . . . . . (pp. 388–9)
Son. ('Madonna, deh vedeste') . . . . (pp. 390–1)
Son. ('Oimè, Comun') . . . . . (pp. 392–3)
Son. xliv ('Per quella via') . . . . (pp. 394–5)
Son. ('Quando la notte abbraccia') . . . (pp. 396–7)
Son. ('Se nel mio ben') . . . . . (pp. 398–9)
Son. ('Sonetto, se Meuccio') . . . . (pp. 400–1)
Son. ('Savete giudicar') . . . . . (pp. 402–3)
Son. ('Messer Brunetto') . . . . . (pp. 404–5)
Son. xxxii ('Guido, vorrei') . . . . (pp. 406–7)
Son. ('Tu che stampi') . . . . . (pp. 410–11)
Son. xlvi ('Poich' io non trovo') . . . . (pp. 412–13)

[1] Called a *canzone* by Lyell.

Charles Lyell (*continued*)

1835. Son. xxxiv ('Io mi credea del tutto') . . . (pp. 416–17)
Son. ('Savere e cortesia') . . . . . (pp. 420–1)
Son. ('Qual che voi siate') . . . . . (pp. 422–3)
Son. ('Non conoscendo, amico') . . . . (pp. 424–5)
Son. xliii ('Parole mie') . . . . . (pp. 426–7)
Son. xl ('O dolci rime') . . . . . (pp. 428–9)
Son. xli ('Onde venite voi così pensose') . . . (pp. 430–1)
Son. li ('Voi, donne, che pietoso') . . . . (pp. 432–3)
Canz. xvii ('Morte, poich' io truovo') . . . (pp. 434–41)
Canz. ('Oimè lasso quelle trecce bionde') . . (pp. 442–5)

Kenelm Henry Digby

(1800–1880)

1835. V. N. § 23, ll. 1–83 (in *Mores Catholici*, or *Ages of Faith*, Book iv, pp. 177–8)

Francis Sylvester Mahony

(1804–1866)

1835. (In *The Songs of Italy*, in *Fraser's Magazine*, reprinted in *Father Prout's Reliques*, ed. 1862, pp. 337–8)
Inf. iii. 1–3, 7–51 (*rhymed quatrains*)

William Ewart Gladstone *

(1809–1898)

1835. (In *Translations by Lord Lyttelton and W. E. Gladstone*)[1]
Purg. xi. 1–21 ('The Lord's Prayer') (*terza rima*) (ed. 1861, p. 117; ed. 1863, p. 163)
Par. iii. 70–87 ('Speech of Piccarda') (*terza rima*) (ed. 1861, p. 119; ed. 1863, p. 165)

* See also under 1837.

Charles Herbert

1835. (In *Italy and Italian Literature*) (in *blank verse*)
Inf. iii. 1–3, 9 . . . . . (p. 71)
Par. xxx. 109–11 . . . . . (p. 72)
Inf. ix. 61–3 . . . . . (p. 74)

Sir George Cornewall Lewis

(1806–1863)

1835. (In *An Essay on the Origin and Formation of the Romance Languages*) (in *prose*)
Purg. xxvi. 140–4 . . . . . (p. 129)

[1] Published in 1861; second edition, 1863.

James Montgomery
(1771–1854)

1835. (In *Life of Dante Alighieri*, in *The Cabinet Cyclopaedia*, in *blank verse*)

Par. xv. 95–6 . . . . . (p. 2)
Par. xxii. 107–23 . . . . . (pp. 3–4)
Inf. xx. 7–24 . . . . . (pp. 4–5)
Inf. xvi. 45 . . . . . (p. 10)
Inf. xxii. 1–15 . . . . . (p. 15)
Inf. xxi. 91–9 . . . . . (p. 16)
Par. xvii. 55–69 . . . . . (p. 24)
Purg. xi. 133–40 . . . . . (p. 25)
Epist. ix, §§ 3–4 . . . . . (p. 31)
Par. xxv. 1–11 . . . . . (p. 32)
Inf. xix. 13–21 . . . . . (p. 33)
Purg. i. 115–29 . . . . . (p. 36)
V. N. § 35, ll. 1–6 . . . . . (p. 38)
Purg. xii. 88–93 . . . . . (p. 38)
Purg. v. 130–6 . . . . . (p. 39)
Purg. vi. 58–75 . . . . . (p. 45)
Inf. x. 22–114 . . . . . (pp. 46–8)
Inf. xxxiii. 150 . . . . . (p. 51)

1836. (In *Translations from Dante*, in *Poetical Works*, in *blank verse*)

Inf. xxxii. 124–xxxiii. 75 ('Ugolino and Ruggieri')
Inf. xxx. 49–148 ('Maestro Adamo')
Par. viii. 13–15 ('Dante and Beatrice')
Par. ii. 19–36 ('Dante and Beatrice')
Par. v. 91–3 ('Dante and Beatrice')
Par. ix. 64–72 ('Dante and Beatrice')
Par. xxx. 46–120 ('The River of Life')
Inf. iii. 1–30 ('The Portal of Hell')
Inf. xxxi. 112–45 ('Anteus')
Purg. xiv. 127–42 ('Cain')
Inf. x. 22–114 ('Farinata')[1]

Ichabod Charles Wright *

1836. Purgatorio ('The Purgatorio of Dante, Translated') (*bastard terza rima*)[2]

Conv. i. 11, ll. 59–65 . . . . (in note to *Purg.* iii)
Conv. iv. 14, ll. 114–21 . . . . (in note to *Purg.* xvi)
Conv. iv. 2, ll. 88–90 . . . . (in note to *Purg.* xviii)
Par. xviii. 22–3 (*verse*) . . . . (in note to *Purg.* xxi)

* See also under 1833, 1840, 1845, 1854.

[1] A revised version of the same passage printed in the *Life of Dante*; see above.

[2] See under 1833.

Walter Savage Landor

(1775–1864)

1836. (In *The Pentameron*, in *prose*)

Inf. xxxiii. 79–81 . . . . . (in *First Day*)
Purg. xxiii. 99–102[1]. . . . . (in *First Day*)
Purg. xxiii. 103–8 . . . . . (in *First Day*)
Inf. v. 137, 142 . . . . . (in *First Day*)
Inf. iii. 4 . . . . . (in *First Day*)
Inf. xxxiii. 40–2 . . . . . (in *Second Day*)
Par. xxiv. 82–7 . . . . . (in *Third Day*)
Par. xxvii. 127–35, 139–41 . . . . (in *Third Day*)
Par. xxxii. 140–1 . . . . . (in *Third Day*)

Anonymous

1836. (In *The Inquisitor*, in the form of 'Letters to Trelawney Tomkinson' in *stanzas of three blank lines*)

Inf. i. 22–4. . . . . (p. 81)
Inf. i. 79–84 . . . . . (pp. 81–2)
Inf. ii. 1–9 . . . . . (p. 85)
Inf. ii. 46–8 . . . . . (p. 87)
Inf. ii. 88–93 . . . . . (p. 87)
Inf. ii. 127–9 . . . . . (p. 88)
Inf. iii. 1–9 . . . . . (p. 96)
Inf. iii. 22–30 . . . . . (p. 99)
Inf. iii. 37–51 . . . . . (pp. 99–100)
Inf. iii. 61–9 . . . . . (pp. 101–2)
Inf. iii. 82–117 . . . . . (pp. 104–5)
Inf. iii. 130–6 . . . . . (p. 106)
Inf. v. 1–142 . . . . . (pp. 166–71)
Inf. vi. 10–12 . . . . . (p. 237)
Inf. vi. 19–21 . . . . . (p. 237)
Inf. vi. 28–33 . . . . . (p. 238)
Inf. vi. 49–51 . . . . . (p. 239)
Inf. vi. 85–7 . . . . . (p. 240)
Inf. vi. 91–9 . . . . . (pp. 240–1)
Inf. vii. 10–15 . . . . . (p. 259)
Inf. vii. 16–30 . . . . . (p. 260)
Inf. vii. 31–9 . . . . . (pp. 260–1)
Inf. vii. 58–60 . . . . . (p. 261)
Inf. vii. 61–96 . . . . . (pp. 262–4)
Inf. vii. 97–9 . . . . . (p. 265)

[1] Landor makes a curious slip in translating these lines; he renders *in pergamo* ('from the pulpit') as if it were *in pergamena*, 'on parchment'.

Edward N. Shannon

1836. Inf. i–x (*terza rima*) (in *The Comedy of Dante Alighieri, translated by Odoardo Volpi*[1])

William Ewart Gladstone *

1837. Inf. xxxiii. 1–78 ('Ugolino') (*terza rima*) (in *Translations by Lord Lyttelton and W. E. Gladstone*; ed. 1861, pp. 109–15)[2]

* See also under 1835.

Thomas Carlyle *

(1795–1881)

1837. (In *Mirabeau*, in *prose*)
Inf. iii. 38–9, 46, 63 . . . . . (ed. 1872, p. 207)

* See also under 1838, 1840.

Charles Hindley *

1837. (In *On the Duties of Man, by Silvio Pellico*)
Inf. iv. 120 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 36)

* See also under 1842.

John Herman Merivale *

1838. (In *Poems Original and Translated*, in *terza rima*)
Inf. iii. 1–136 ('The Entrance of Hell') . . (vol. ii, pp. 207–11)
Inf. v. 25–141 ('Paul and Francesca') . . (vol. ii, pp. 212–16)
Inf. vi. 34–100 ('Ciacco, the Glutton') . . (vol. ii, pp. 216–18)
Inf. viii. 31–64 ('Philippo Argenti') . . (vol. ii, pp. 218–19)
Inf. x. 1–136 ('Dante and Farinata') . . (vol. ii, pp. 220–4)
Inf. xiii. 1–108 ('Peter de Vineis') . . . (vol. ii, pp. 225–8)
Inf. xiii. 109–51 ('Lano and Sant' Andrea') . (vol. ii, pp. 229–30)
Purg. ii. 67–133 ('Dante and Casella') . . (vol. ii, pp. 230–3)
Purg. iii. 130–45 ('Manfred') . . . . (vol. ii, pp. 233–4)
Purg. vi. 59–151 ('Sordello') . . . . (vol. ii, pp. 235–8)
Purg. viii. 1–18, 109–39 ('Conrad Malaspina') . . . . . (vol. ii, pp. 238–40)
Purg. xi. 91–142 ('Provenzano Salvani') . (vol. ii, pp. 240–2)
Par. xv. 97–148 ('The Praises of Ancient Florence') . . . . . (vol. ii, pp. 242–4)
Par. xvii. 13–142 ('Dante and Cacciaguida') . . . . . (vol. ii, pp. 244–8)

* See also under 1814, 1844.

[1] Pseudonym adopted by Shannon; no more than the first ten cantos of the *Inferno* appeared in this version.

[2] Ed. 1863, pp. 155–61.

Thomas Carlyle *

1838. (In *Lectures on the History of Literature*, in *prose*)
Inf. iii. 46, 51, 63 . . . . . (p. 86)[1]
Inf. xvii. 129 . . . . . (p. 88)
Inf. xv. 18–21 . . . . . (pp. 88–9)
Inf. xiv. 29–30 . . . . . (p. 89)
Inf. v. 28–9, 88–92, 100, 103, 107, 127–9. 133–6, 138 . (p. 90)
Inf. xxvi. 1–3 . . . . . (p. 92)
Inf. xv. 55–6 . . . . . (p. 92)
Purg. viii. 71, 73–4 . . . . . (p. 94)
Inf. xxx. 132 . . . . . (p. 95)

* See also under 1837, 1840.

Richard Monckton Milnes
(1809–1885)

1838. V.N. § 23, ll. 16–83 (*blank verse*) (in *Poems of Many Years*, pp. 186–8)

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow *

1839. (In *Voices of the Night*, in *blank verse*)
Purg. ii. 13–51 ('The Celestial Pilot')
Purg. xxviii. 1–33 ('The Terrestrial Paradise')
Purg. xxx. 13–33, 85–99 ('Beatrice')
Purg. xxxi. 13–21 ('Beatrice')

* See also under 1830, 1845, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867.

Charles Lyell *

1840. Canzoniere (second edition)[2]

* See also under *c.* 1830, 1835, 1842, 1845.

James Blundell
(1790–1877)

1840. (In *Principles and Practice of Obstetric Medicine*) (in *prose*)
Inf. vii. 13–14 . . . . . (p. 151)
Inf. vii. 22–4 . . . . . (p. 196)

Anonymous

[1840]. Inf. xxvii. 58–129 (*terza rima*) (in *The Buried Bride*, &c.,[3] pp. 141–4)

[1] In the edition of J. Reay Greene, 1892.
[2] A re-issue of the edition of 1835, with new title-page.
[3] Printed at Southampton, without date.

John Edward Taylor
(1809–1866)

1840. Ball. ix ('Poichè saziar non posso') (*unrhymed verse*) (in *Michael Angelo considered as a Philosophic Poet*) . . . (p. 150)

Thomas Babington Macaulay *

1840. Purg. xx. 87–9 (*prose*) (in *Essay on Ranke's History of the Popes*,[1] in *Edinburgh Review*)

* See also under 1824, 1825.

Thomas Carlyle *

1840. (In *The Hero as Poet*, in *On Heroes, Hero-worship, and the Heroic in History*, in *prose*)

Par. xvii. 59	(ed. 1873, p. 82)
Inf. xv. 55–6	(pp. 83–4)
Par. xxv. 3	(p. 84)
Inf. vii. 14	(p. 86)
Inf. xiv. 30	(p. 86)
Inf. iii. 63	(p. 88)
Inf. iii. 51	(p. 88)
Inf. iii. 46	(p. 88)
Purg. viii. 71, 73	(p. 89)
Purg. x. 130, 131	(p. 89)

* See also under 1837, 1838.

Ichabod Charles Wright *

1840. Paradiso ('The Paradiso of Dante, Translated') (*bastard terza rima*[2])

And sundry passages from the *Convivio* (in the *Notes*)[3]

* See also under 1833, 1836, 1845, 1854.

P. Hawke
(fl. 1840)

c. 1840. Inf. i–xvii ('The Divine Comedy of Dante translated in English') (*prose*)[4]

[1] *Critical and Historical Essays*, ed. 1866, vol. ii, p. 133.

[2] See under 1833.

[3] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, p. 30.

[4] Only the first seventeen cantos of the *Inferno* were completed; the translation has not been printed, the MS. is preserved in the Bibliothèque d'Angers. (See L. Auvray, *Manuscrits de Dante des Bibliothèques de France*, p. 139.) Each canto is accompanied by copies (in pencil) of the designs drawn by Flaxman. Hawke was professor of drawing at Angers from *c.* 1830 to 1848.

Richard Henry Wilde

(1789–1847)

c. 1840. Son. xxxii ('Guido, vorrei') (*rhymed sonnet*)[1]

John Abraham Heraud

(1799–1887)

c. 1840. Inferno ('Dell' Inferno of Dante Alighieri, Translated')[2] (*terza rima*)

Thomas Moore

(1779–1852)

1841. Purg. xxvii. 94–108 ('The Dream of the Two Sisters')[3] (in *Poetical Works*, ed. 1841, vol. ix, pp. 411–12)

Antonio Carlo Napoleone Gallenga *

(1810–1895)

1841. (In *Italy: General Views of its History and Literature*,[4] in *prose*)

Par. xxv. 1–3 . . . . . (vol. i, p. 205)
Purg. i. 13, 117 . . . . . (vol. i, p. 214)

* Gallenga wrote under the pseudonym of Louis Mariotti.

Bruce Whyte *

1841. (In his *Histoire des Langues Romanes et de leur Littérature*,[5] vol. iii)

Inf. xxiv. 1–15 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (pp. 239–40)
Purg. xxv. 37–57 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (pp. 270–1)
Ball. vi (*rhyme*) . . . . . (pp. 286–7)
Canz. i (V. N. § 19), ll. 15–42 (*rhyme*) . . . (pp. 290–1)
Canz. ('Io miro i crespi') (*rhyme*) . . . . (pp. 293–4)

* See also under 1859.

[1] In a projected work on *The Italian Lyric Poets*, which was never completed. The above sonnet is printed by T. W. Koch, in *Dante in America*, p. 25 (in *Fifteenth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*. According to G. B. Cavalcaselle, Wilde also projected a translation of the *Commedia* (see *Giornale del Centenario di Dante*, p. 160).

[2] Unpublished; MS. formerly in my possession, now in British Museum. *Inferno* xxvi. 112–42 is printed in *Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary* (vol. ii, pp. 540–1).

[3] An adaptation.

[4] Reprinted in 1846 under the title *Italy, Past and Present*; the references above are to this edition.

[5] This work was written in English, but was never published in that language; in this French translation Bruce Whyte has preserved the English poetical renderings.

Bruce Whyte (*continued*)

1841. Son. xii (V. N. § 22) (*rhymed sonnet*) . . . . (p. 298)
Son. xxiv (V. N. § 41) (*rhymed sonnet*) . . . . (p. 299)
Canz. vi (Conv. ii) (*rhyme*) . . . . . (pp. 301–3)
Canz. xvii (*rhyme*) . . . . . (pp. 306–8)
Canz. ii (V. N. § 23) (*rhyme*) . . . . . (pp. 312–14)
Canz. xx (*rhyme*) . . . . . (pp. 318–21)
Canz. xviii, ll. 1–60 (*rhyme*) . . . . . (pp. 326–8)

Charles Lyell *

1842. 'Poems of the Vita Nuova and Convito' (*unrhymed verse*) [1]
And sundry passages from Dante's prose works (in *Introduction*) [2]

* See also under 1835, 1840, 1845.

Henry Nelson O'Neil
(1817–1880)

1842. Inf. v. 127, 132–8 (*blank verse*) (in *Catalogue of the Exhibition of the Royal Academy*, 1842. No. 258)

Alfred Tennyson
(1809–1892)

1842. Inf. v. 121–3 (in *Locksley Hall*, ll. 75–6) [3]

Charles Hindley *

1842. Inf. i–iv. 57 (*prose*) (in *A Plain and Direct Translation of the Inferno*) [4]

* See also under 1837.

John Dayman
(1802–1871)

1843. Inferno (*terza rima*) [5]

* See also under 1865.

[1] Originally published in Lyell's translation of the *Canzoniere* (1835, 1840); but all the versions now printed have been recast.

[2] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge* (*U.S.A.*) *Dante Society*, p. 31.

[3] A free rendering.

[4] Only the above fragment was published.

[5] Reputed to be the first complete English translation of the *Inferno* in the *terza rima* of the original, but see p. 174, n. 2.

William Dowe

1843. Inf. xxxiii. 37–75 ('The Death of Ugolino') (in six *eight-lined stanzas*, rhyming *abababcc*) (in *Dublin University Magazine*, vol. xxi, pp. 657–8)

Thomas William Parsons *

(1819–1892)

1843. Inf. i–x (in *rhymed quatrains*) [1]

* See also under 1854, 1865, 1866, 1867, 1869, 1870, 1872, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, 1879, 1880, 1881, 1883, 1893.

Henry Francis Cary *

1844. Divina Commedia ('The Vision . . . of Dante Alighieri') (*blank verse*) (fourth edition,[2] in one vol. 12mo)

* See also under 1792, 1805, 1806, 1814, 1819, 1831.

Thomas John Mazzinghi

(fl. 1840)

1844. (In *A Brief Notice of the Recent Researches respecting Dante Alighieri*)

V. N. § 2, ll. 15–23 . . . . . (p. 9)
V. N. § 23, ll. 8–19 . . . . . (p. 11)
V. N. § 29, ll. 1–11 . . . . . (pp. 11–12)
Mon. iii. 16, ll. 129–40 . . . . . (p. 28)

John Henry Merivale *

1844. (In *Poems Original and Translated*, in *terza rima*; same selection as in edition of 1838, but revised and corrected)

* See also under 1814, 1838.

James Henry Leigh Hunt *

1844. (In *Imagination and Fancy*, in *blank verse*)

Inf. xxxi. 34–48, 58–60, 67–81 . . . (ed. 1845, pp. 11 ff.)
Inf. xiii. 4–6 . . . . . (p. 97)

* See also under 1819–1821, 1825, 1846.

Lord John Russell

(1792–1878)

1844. Inf. v. 73–142 ('Francesca da Rimini') (*heroic couplets*) (in *Literary Souvenir*, 1844)

[1] Parsons states that he had previously rendered 'a good portion of the *Divina Commedia* into English triplets' but was dissatisfied with the result.

[2] The last edition revised by Cary, who died in this year.

Francesco Frank

1844. Inf. v (*prose*) (printed at Ferrara)
1845. Par. xxxi (*prose*) (printed at Ferrara)[1]

Charles Lyell *

1845. Canzoniere ('The Lyrical Poems of Dante Alighieri, including the Poems of the Vita Nuova and Convito') (*unrhymed*, in metres of the original)[2]

V. N. § 1, ll. 1–7 . . (in *Analysis of the Vita Nuova*, p. xviii)
Poems of the Vita Nuova . . . . . (pp. 1–22)
Poems of the Convito . . . . . (pp. 23–30)
Canzoniere . . . . . (pp. 31–119)
Sest. iii ('Amor mi mena') . . . . . (pp. 62–3)
Sest. iv ('Gran nobiltà') . . . . . (pp. 63–4)
Son. xlvii ('Poichè sguardando') . . . . (p. 73)
Son. xxxix ('Nulla mi parrà mai') . . . . (p. 74)
Son. xlviii ('Se 'l bello aspetto') . . . . (p. 75)
Canz. ('Poscia ch' i' ho perduta') . . . . (pp. 84–6)
Canz. ('Io non posso celar') . . . . . (pp. 86–8)
Son. ('Giovinetta gentil') . . . . . (p. 105)
Son. xlii ('Ora che 'l mondo') . . . . . (p. 105)
Son. ('Se gli occhi miei') . . . . . (p. 109)
Son. xlv ('Per villania') . . . . . (p. 114)
Son. ('Se 'l Dio d' Amor') . . . . . (p 115)

* See also under 1835, 1840, 1842.

Ichabod Charles Wright *

1845. Divina Commedia ('Dante Translated') (*bastard terza rima*) (first collected edition, in 3 vols. 12mo)

Epist. ix, §§ 3, 4 . . (in *Memoir of Dante*, vol. i, pp. xiii–xiv)
Conv. iv. 24, ll. 123–6 . . . (in note to *Inf.* i, vol. i, p. 8)

* See also under 1833, 1836, 1840, 1854.

Theodore Martin *

(1816–1909)

1845. Poems of the Vita Nuova (*rhymed verse*) (in *Dante and Beatrice*, in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*)

* See also under 1862, 1864, 1871, 1893, 1907.

[1] See T. W. Koch, *Catalogue of Cornell Dante Collection*, vol. i, pp. 45, 236.

[2] The lyrics translated in this edition are the same as those in the editions of 1835 and 1840, but many of the versions have been revised, and twelve poems (noted above) have been added. Two issues of this edition appeared in 1845; one in 12mo (to which the page references above are given) and another in roy. 8vo. This is the last edition which was published of Lyell's work.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow *

1845. (In *The Poets and Poetry of Europe*)
V. E. i. 10, ll. 72–85 . . . . . (pp. 501–2)
Purg. xxvi. 112–14 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 507)
Par. xxv. 1–2 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 510)

* See also under 1830, 1839, 1864, 1865, 1866, 1867.

Francis Calley Gray

1845. Par. xxiii. 1–34 ('Beatrice') (*terza rima*) (in Longfellow's *Poets and Poetry of Europe*, p. 524) [1]

Robert Browning *

(1812–1889)

1845. Purg. v. 52–7 (*blank verse*) (in *Letter to E. B. Barrett*, December, 1845)

* See also under 1862.

Thomas Wade

(1805–1875)

1845–6. Inferno (*terza rima*) (unpublished) [2]

James Glassford

(d. 1845)

1846. (In *Lyrical Compositions from the Italian Poets*) [3]
Son. xxiv (V. N. § 41) (*rhymed sonnet*) . . . . (p. 3)

Anonymous

1846. Inf. xxxiii. 1–78 (free rendering) (in *Southern Literary Messenger*,[4] September, 1846)

[1] See T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, p. 84.

[2] The MS., formerly in the possession of H. Buxton Forman (who printed Wade's version of *Inf.* iii. 1–42 in the *London Quarterly Review* (vol. xlviii, pp. 120–1), and of *Inf.* xxxiv. 127–39, in *Literary Anecdotes of the Nineteenth Century*, vol. i. p. 65), is now in the Macauley Collection in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania.

[3] Reprinted, 1866. The original edition, published in 1834, did not contain the translation from Dante.

[4] See T. W. Koch, *A List of Danteiana in American Libraries*, p. 29, in *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society.*

James Henry Leigh Hunt *

1846. (In *Stories from the Italian Poets*)

Conv. iv. 14, ll. 105–7 . . . . . (vol. i, p. 5)
Son. vii (V. N. § 14), 1–4 (*prose*) . . . . (vol. i, p. 10)
Par. xvii. 58–60 (*prose*)[1] . . . . . (vol. i, p. 20)
Conv. i. 3, ll. 15–43 . . . . . (vol. i, pp. 22–3)
Epist. ix . . . . . (vol. i, pp. 24–6)
Purg. vi. 66 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, p. 72)
Par. xxvii. 5 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, p. 72)
Inf. i. 79–90 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, p. 85)
Inf. ii. 127–9 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (vol. i, p. 86)
Inf. iii. 1–9 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, p. 87)
Inf. iii. 12, 14–18 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, p. 87)
Inf. iii. 43–4, 47–51, 84–9, 94–6 (*prose*) . . . (vol. i, p. 89)
Inf. iv. 13–21 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, p. 90)
Inf. iv. 80–1, 86–90, 94–6, 100–2 (*prose*) . . (vol. i, p. 92)
Inf. v. 50–63 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, pp. 95–6)
Inf. v. 82–7 (*terza rima*)[2] . . . . . (vol. i, p. 97)
Inf. v. 100–7, 112–42 (*prose*) . . . . (vol. i, pp. 97–100)
Inf. vii. 1, 8–12 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, pp. 101–2)
Inf. vii. 121–4 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, p. 103)
Inf. viii. 18–21, 33, 35–9, 42–63 (*prose*) . . (vol. i, pp. 103–5)
Inf. ix. 45–8, 52, 55–7, 73–5, 91–9 (*prose*) . (vol. i, pp. 106–8)
Inf. x. 49–51, 58–63, 67–9 (*prose*) . . . . (vol. i, p. 109)
Inf. xiii. 35, 37–9 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, p. 112)
Inf. xiv. 51–2, 62–6 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, p. 114)
Inf. xix. 52–4 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, p. 117)
Inf. xix. 115–17 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, pp. 117–18)
Inf. xx. 28–30 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, p. 118)
Inf. xxiv. 122–9, 130–51 (*prose*) . . . . (vol. i, p. 123)
Inf. xxv. 3–7, 10–15 (*prose*) . . . . (vol. i, pp. 123–4)
Inf. xxv. 46–8, 68–9, 94–141 (*prose*) . . (vol. i, pp. 125–8)
Inf. xxvi. 1–3, 47–8, 52–6 (*prose*) . . . (vol. i, pp. 128–9)
Inf. xxvii. 119, 121–2 (*prose*) . . . . (vol. i, pp. 129–30)
Inf. xxviii. 106–9, 111–26, 130–6, 139–42 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, pp. 131–3)
Inf. xxix. 7–12, 22–4, 31–6 (*prose*) . . . (vol. i, pp. 131–4)
Inf. xxxi. 12–13, 16–19, 31–3, 70–81 (*prose*) . (vol. i, pp. 136–7)
Inf. xxxii. 1–15, 19–21, 79–81, 106–24 (*prose*) (vol. i, pp. 138–41)
Inf. xxxiii. 1–89 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, pp. 142–4)

* See also under 1819–1821, 1825, 1844.

[1] Many of Leigh Hunt's prose renderings are somewhat free.

[2] This translation is repeated on p. 394, but with a different rendering of l. 82.

1846. Inf. xxxiii. 94–9, 121–3, 129–32, 136–57 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, pp. 145–7)
Inf. xxxiv. 1–2, 68–9 (*prose*) . . . . (vol. i, pp. 147, 149)
Purg. i. 19–21, 23–7, 31–48 (*prose*) . . (vol. i, pp. 153–6)
Purg. i. 13–27 (*terza rima*) . . . . (vol. i, pp. 154–5)
Purg. i. 115–17 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (vol. i, p. 157)
Purg. ii. 10–54, 59–60, 76–86, 106–14 (*prose*) (vol. i, pp. 158–9)
Canz. vii (Conv. iii), 1–2 (*verse*) . . . . (vol. i, p. 160)
Purg. iv. 109–14 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, p. 163)
Purg. v. 130–6 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, pp. 164–5)
Purg. v. 130–6 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (vol. i, p. 165)
Purg. vi. 49, 58–60, 64–84 (*prose*) . . (vol. i, pp. 166–7)
Purg. viii. 1–6 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, p. 170)
Purg. viii. 1–6 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (vol. i, p. 170)
Purg. viii. 37–9, 97–108 (*prose*) . . . (vol. i, pp. 171–2)
Purg. ix. 94–105 (*prose*) . . . . (vol. i, pp. 173–4)
Purg. x. 77–93, 121–6, 130–4, 138–9 (*prose*) (vol. i, pp. 175–7)
Purg. x. 124–6 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (vol. i, p. 177)
Purg. xi. 79–114, 119–141 (*prose*) . . (vol. i, pp. 178–80)
Purg. xii. 70–2, 77, 79 (*prose*) . . . (vol. i, pp. 181–2)
Purg. xiii. 50–1, 109, 117–38 (*prose*) . . (vol. i, pp. 183–4)
Purg. xiv. 25–8, 43–57, 88–93, 97–125 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, pp. 185–7)
Purg. xv. 87–93, 104–13 (*prose*) . . . (vol. i, pp. 188–9)
Purg. xix. 7–36 (*prose*) . . . . (vol. i, pp. 191–2)
Purg. xx. 19, 22–7, 43–5, 49–54, 65–75, 79–81, 86–8, 91–123 (*prose*) . . . (vol. i, pp. 193–6)
Purg. xxii. 141–6, 148–54 (*prose*) . . . (vol. i, p. 198)
Purg. xxiii. 98–108, 115–19, 121–6 (*prose*) . (vol. i, pp. 200–1)
Purg. xxiv. 37, 40–1, 43–5, 49–57, 63 (*prose*) (vol. i, pp. 202–3)
Purg. xxiv. 52–4 (*terza rima*) . . . . (vol. i, p. 203)
Purg. xxiv. 121–5 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, p. 205)
Purg. xxv. 127–35 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, p. 206)
Purg. xxvii. 35–6, 49–51, 53–4, 58, 61–2, 101–5, 108 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, pp. 208–9)
Purg. xxviii. 22–5, 28–33, 35–72 (*prose*) . (vol. i, pp. 211–12)
Purg. xxx. 55–7, 70–5, 115–45 (*prose*) . . (vol. i, pp. 213–15)
Purg. xxxi. 1–2, 5, 22–6, 34–6, 49–63, 67–9 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, pp. 215–17)
Purg. xxxiii. 145 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, p. 218)
Par. vi. 133–5, 140–2 (*prose*) . . . (vol. i, pp. 224–5)
Par. vii. 1–3 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (vol. i, pp. 225)
Par. xv. 28–30, 88–148 (*prose*) . . . (vol. i, pp. 232–6)
Par. xvi. 46–78, 88–120, 136–48 (*prose*) . (vol. i, pp. 236–9)
Par. xvii. 46–51, 55–99, 106–142 (*prose*) . (vol. i, pp. 24 –4)

James Henry Leigh Hunt (*continued*)

1846. Par. xviii. 5–9, 19–21, 70–8, 91–8, 100–2 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, pp. 244–6)
Par. xix. 34–8, 91–148 (*prose*) . . . (vol. i, pp. 247–9)
Par. xx. 13–75 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, pp. 250–2)
Par. xxi. 34–9, 105–11, 113–42 (*prose*) . (vol. i, pp. 254–6)
Par. xxi. 139–42 (*terza rima*) . . . . (vol. i, p. 256)
Par. xxii. 124–54 (*prose*) . . . . (vol. i, pp. 257–8)
Par. xxiii. 1–9, 19–30, 34–60, 70–84, 97–111, 118–23, 127–9 (*prose*) . . . . (vol. i, pp. 259–63)
Par. xxv. 1–12 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, pp. 264–5)
Par. xxvii. 13–15, 19–75 (*prose*) . . . (vol. i, pp. 267–9)
Par. xxx. 40–2, 46–51, 58–146 (*prose*) . (vol. i, pp. 270–3)
Par. xxxi. 1–18, 31–40, 127–36 (*prose*) . (vol. i, pp. 273–5)
Par. xxxii. 4–33, 46–8 (*prose*). . . . (vol. i, pp. 275–6)
Par. xxxiii. 55–7, 61–3, 106–8, 115–32, 143–5 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. i, pp. 277–9)
Inf. v. 70–142 ('Story of Paulo and Francesca') (*terza rima*) . . . . (vol. i, pp. 393–5)
Inf. xxxii. 124–xxxiii. 90 ('Story of Ugolino') (*heroic couplets*) . . . . (vol. i, pp. 404–7)
Par. xv. 97–129 ('Picture of Florence in the time of Dante's ancestors') (*blank verse*) (vol. i, pp. 410–11)

Joseph Garrow

(1789–1855)

1846. Vita Nuova ('The Early Life of Dante Alighieri')[1] (*lyrics* in *rhymed verse*)
Conv. ii. 13, ll. 5–9, 27–9, 70–2 . . . (in *Preface*, p. xiii)
Conv. ii. 9, ll. 133–6 . . . . . (in *Preface*, p. xiv)
Conv. ii. 6, ll. 140–3 . . . . . (in note to § 2, p. 5)

Henry Edward Napier

(1789–1853)

1846. (In his *Florentine History*, in *blank verse*)
Inf. xiii. 148–9 . . . . . (vol. i, p. 37)
Par. xvi. 148–54 . . . . . (vol. i, p. 121)
Inf. xxxi. 55–7 . . . . . (vol. i, p. 131)
Par. xvi. 136–47 . . . . . (vol. i, p. 193)
Inf. xxxii. 119–20 . . . . . (vol. i, p. 228)
Inf. xvi. 34–8 . . . . . (vol. i, p. 241)
Inf. xxxii. 79–81 . . . . . (vol. i, p. 249)

[1] The first English translation of the *Vita Nuova*; printed at Florence by F. Le Monnier.

1846. Inf. x. 89–93 . . . . . (vol. i, p. 259)
Purg. iii. 112–14 . . . . . (vol. i, p. 268)
Inf. xxxii. 121–3 . . . . . (vol. i, p. 272)
Inf. xxiii. 103–8 . . . . . (vol. i, p. 273)
Inf. xii. 118–20 . . . . . (vol. i, p. 284)
Inf. xix. 67–72 . . . . . (vol. i, p. 290)
Par. xv. 103–5 . . . . . (vol. i, p. 321)
Inf. xxvi. 1–3 . . . . . (vol. i, p. 394)
Purg. vi. 127–51 . . . . . (vol. i, p. 640)
Inf. xxxiii. 1–90 . . . . . (vol. i, pp. 641–3)
Purg. xxiv. 79–90 . . . . . (vol. i, p. 643)
Purg. xxiii. 91–102 . . . . . (vol. ii, p. 633)
Purg. ii. 112–14 . . . . . (vol. ii, p. 635)
Inf. x. 67–72 . . . . . (vol. ii, p. 636)
Purg. xi. 97–9 . . . . . (vol. ii, p. 637)
Par. xxii. 112–20 . . . . . (vol. ii, p. 662)
Purg. xi. 100–6 . . . . . (vol. ii, p. 664)

W. Nind

1846. Inf. i (*terza rima*) (in *The Legend of Latimer, and Other Poems*, pp. 216–23)

Philip Pendleton Cooke

1847. Inf. xxxiii. 1–90 ('Story of Ugolino') (*rhymed nine-line stanzas*) (in *Froissart Ballads and Other Poems*,[1] pp. 210–16)

Elizabeth Juliana Sabine

(1807–1879)

1848. (In *Cosmos: Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe.* From the German of Alexander von Humboldt)
Par. xxx. 64–8 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. ii, p. 51)

Augustin Prichard

1848. (In ΚΟΣΜΟΣ: *A General Survey of the Physical Phenomena of the Universe.* From the German of A. von Humboldt) (in *loosely rhymed quatrains*)
Par. xxx. 65, 67–9 (*prose*) . . . . . (vol. ii, p. 50)
Purg. i. 25–8 . . . . . (vol. ii, p. 102)
Purg. i. 115–17; v. 109–11; Par. xxx. 61–9 . . (vol. ii, p. 117)
Inf. iv. 130–2 . . . . . (vol. ii, p. 426)
Purg. i. 22–4 . . . . . (vol. ii, p. 329)

[1] See T. W. Koch, *Catalogue of the Cornell Dante Collection*, vol. i, pp. 49, 193.

E. C. Otté

1848. (In *Cosmos: A Sketch of a Physical Description of the Universe.* From the German of A. von Humboldt) (in *prose*)

Par. xxx. 61–9 . . . . . (vol. ii, pp. 418–19)
Par. xii. 29–30 . . . . . (vol. ii, p. 629)
Purg. i. 23–4 . . . . . (vol. ii, p. 667)
Purg. xxxi. 106 . . . . . (vol. ii, p. 668)

John Aitken Carlyle *

(1801–1879)

1849. Inferno ('Dante's Divine Comedy: The Inferno') [1] (*prose*)
And sundry passages from the *Convivio* and Latin works of Dante in *Introduction* and *Notes* [2]

* See also under 1867.

Dante Gabriel Rossetti *

(1828–1882)

1849. V. N. § 35, ll. 1–13 (inscription for drawing of 'Dante drawing an angel on the first anniversary of the death of Beatrice')

* See also under 1861, 1862, 1870, 1874, 1881.

Richard William Church

(1815–1890)

1850. (In *Dante, An Essay*, in *Christian Remembrancer*, January, 1850) [3]

V. N. § 43, ll. 1–17 . . . . . (p. 54) [4]
Conv. i. 3, ll. 20–43 . . . . . (pp. 76–7)
Conv. ii. 15, ll. 166–70, 179–84 . . . . . (p. 82)
Mon. i. 16, ll. 1–38 . . . . . (pp. 92–3)
Mon. ii. 1, ll. 7–48 . . . . . (pp. 93–4)
Mon. ii. 5, ll. 128–34 . . . . . (p. 94)
Mon. ii. 4, ll. 1–4, 28–30 . . . . . (p. 95)
Epist. x, ll. 133–58, 162–75 . . . . . (pp. 98–9)
Conv. ii. 1, ll. 42–65 . . . . . (pp. 99–100)
Conv. i. 11, ll. 144–51 . . . . . (p. 116)
Conv. i. 13, ll. 59–67 . . . . . (pp. 116–17)

Patrick Bannerman

1850. Divina Commedia ('The Comedy of Dante Alighieri') (*heroic verse, irregularly rhymed*)

[1] Carlyle intended to translate the whole of the *Commedia*, and actually finished 'the greater part of the *Purgatorio*', as he states in the Preface to his second edition (1867); but no more was published.

[2] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, pp. 39–40.

[3] First published in book form in 1854; reprinted 1878.

[4] Page references are to the edition of 1878.

Anonymous: J. P.

1850. Inf. v. 73–142 ('Francesca da Rimini') (*blank verse*) (in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, May, 1850; vol. xvii, p. 269)

Elizabeth Barrett Browning *

c. 1850. Inf. i (*terza rima*) (in *Elizabeth Barrett Browning's hitherto unpublished Poems and Stories*,[1] ed. H. Buxton Forman, 1914. Vol. ii, pp. 238–43)

* See also under E. B. Barrett, *c.* 1819.

Spencer Hall

c. 1850? Inf. v. 97 ff. ('Francesca da Rimini. An Episode') (*blank verse*)[2]

Charles Bagot Cayley *

(1823–1883)

1851. Inferno ('Dante's Divine Comedy: The Vision of Hell') (*terza rima*)

* See also under 1853, 1854, 1855.

Leonard Francis Simpson

1851. (In *The Literature of Italy*)
Inf. v. 97–107, 116–20 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (p. 55)
Inf. v. 121–42 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (p. 56)
And sundry passages from the *Vita Nuova*, *Convivio*, and *De Vulgari Eloquentia*[3]

Frances Joanna Bunbury

1852. (In *Life and Times of Dante*. From the Italian of Count Cesare Balbo)
Sundry passages from the *Vita Nuova*, *Convivio*, *De Monarchia*, *Epistles*, and *Eclogues* (in *prose*)

Alexander Munro

(1825–1871)

1852. Inf. v. 127–38 (*terza rima*) (in *Catalogue of the Exhibition of the Royal Academy*, 1852. No. 1340)

E. O'Donnell

1852. Divina Commedia ('Translation of the Divina Commedia of Dante Alighieri') (*prose*)

[1] Privately printed at Boston, Mass.

[2] Privately printed.

[3] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge* (*U.S.A.*) *Dante Society*, p. 41.

Charles Bagot Cayley *

1853. Purgatorio ('Dante's Divine Comedy: The Purgatory') (*terza rima*)

And several passages (in *Appendix*) from the *Vita Nuova* and *Convivio*[1]

* See also under 1851, 1854, 1855.

William Gilmore Simms

1853. Inf. v. 73–142 ('Francesca da Rimini') (*terza rima*) (in *Poems, Descriptive, Dramatic, Legendary, and Contemplative*, vol. ii, pp. 356–60)[2]

Ichabod Charles Wright *

1854. Divina Commedia ('The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri. Translated into English Verse') (third edition, in one volume cr. 8vo, revised)

And numerous passages from the *Convivio*, *De Monarchia*, &c. (in *Introduction*, *Notes*, and *Extracts from Dante's Prose Works*)[3]

* See also under 1833, 1836, 1840, 1845.

Thomas William Parsons *

1854. Par. xxi. 106–35 (*poetical paraphrase*) (in *Poems*, 1854, pp. 50–4)[4]

* See also under 1843, and note.

Charles Bagot Cayley *

1854. Paradiso ('Dante's Divine Comedy: The Paradise') (*terza rima*)

* See also under 1851, 1853, 1855.

Thomas Brooksbank

1854. Inferno ('Dante's Divine Comedy, the First Part: Hell')[5] (*terza rima*)

William Frederick Pollock

(1815–1888)

1854. Divina Commedia ('The Divine Comedy; or, The Inferno, Purgatory, and Paradise of Dante Alighieri') (*blank verse*)

[1] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, p. 41.

[2] See T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, p. 87.

[3] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, pp. 42–3.

[4] See T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, p. 88.

[5] No more was published.

Nicholas Patrick Stephen Wiseman [1]

(1802–1865)

1855. Par. xxvii. 1–6 (*blank verse*) (in *Lecture on the Perception of Natural Beauty by the Ancients and Moderns*,[2] p. 26)

Charles Bagot Cayley *

1855. (In *Notes on Dante's Divine Comedy*)
Numerous passages from the prose works of Dante [3]

* See also under 1851, 1853, 1854.

Anonymous

1855. Son. xv (V. N. § 26) ('Tanto gentile') (*rhymed sonnet*) (in Cayley's *Notes on Dante's Divine Comedy*, p. 12) [4]

Anonymous: G. J. C.

1855. Inf. xxxii. 124–39; xxxiii. 1–83 ('The Tower of Famine') (*terza rima*) (in *Fraser's Magazine*, September, 1855, vol. lii, pp. 350–1)

John Ruskin *

(1819–1900)

1856. (In vol. iii of *Modern Painters*, in *prose*) [5]

Purg. xxix. 122–3	(chap. viii, § 7)
Inf. xviii. 4; xiv. 82–3; xv. 11; viii. 69	(chap. xiv, § 29)
Purg. x. 24	(chap. xiv, § 31)
Inf. i. 77–8	(chap. xiv, § 32)
Inf. i. 5–7	(chap. xiv, § 33)
Purg. xxvii. 131–2 [6]	(chap. xiv, § 34)
Purg. xxviii. 68–9, 41	(chap. xiv, § 35)
Purg. xxxii. 58	(chap. xiv, § 46)
Inf. iv. 118	(chap. xiv, § 48)
Purg. vii. 73–8; viii. 28	(chap. xiv, § 49)
Purg. i. 103–5	(chap. xiv, § 53)
Inf. vii. 108; xviii. 2; Purg. ix. 115	(chap. xv, § 7)
Inf. xi. 2; xii. 4–9, 28–9	(chap. xv, § 13)
Inf. xxxiii. 30	(chap. xv, § 17)
Purg. i. 117; Par. i. 61–2, 80–1	(chap. xv, § 20)

* See also under 1860, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1874.

[1] Cardinal Wiseman. [2] Delivered December 10, 1855.

[3] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, pp. 43–4.

[4] Described by Cayley as 'by a friend'.

[5] Sometimes in the form of paraphrase.

[6] Ruskin makes a curious mistranslation here, rendering *arte* as 'art', instead of 'narrow' (ways)—'Fuor sei dell' erte vie, fuor sei dell' arte'.

Whitley Stokes

(1830–1909)

1857. Son. xxxii (' Guido, vorrei ') (*rhymed sonnet*) (in *Fraser's Magazine*, January, 1857, vol. lv, pp. 26–7; in art. *Tuscan Proverbs*)[1]

J. C. Peabody

1857. Inf. i–x (*blank verse*, ' a line for line literal translation ')
Inf. i (*terza rima*)[2]

Raymond de Véricour

1858. (In his *Life and Times of Dante*)
Sundry passages from the *Divina Commedia* (in *prose*) and prose works of Dante,[3] including
Epist. v. 3–16, 16–19, 23–8, 100–10 . . . . (pp. 158–9)
Epist. ix . . . . . (pp. 182–4)

Charles Timothy Brooks

1858. Canz. vii (Conv. iii) (*verse*) (in the *Crayon*, February, 1858, vol. v, p. 39)[4]

Anonymous

1858. (In *Eclectic Review*, December, 1858, vol. iv, N.S.)
Son. i (V. N. § 3) (' A ciascun' alma presa ') (*rhymed sonnet*) . . . . . (p. 488)
Epist. ix . . . . . (pp. 496–7)

Charles Boner

(1815–1870)

1859. Son. xv (V. N. § 26) (' Tanto gentile ') (*verse*) (in *Dante Alighieri's Lyrische Gedichte, übersetzt von* C. Kraft, p. 519)[5]

James Russell Lowell *

(1819–1891)

1859. (In the article ' Dante ' in *New American Encyclopaedia*)
Par. xvii. 55–60 (*blank verse*)
And sundry passages from the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* and *Epistolae*[6]

* See also under 1876.

[1] This version was recast by Theodore Martin, and utilized by him in his translation of the *Vita Nuova* (1862).

[2] See T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, pp. 89–90.

[3] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, pp. 109–10.

[4] See T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, p. 90.

[5] See T. W. Koch, *Catalogue of the Cornell Dante Collection*, vol. i, p. 79.

[6] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, p. 46.

Richard Furman

1859. Inf. xxxiii. 1-90 ('Count Ugoline') (*rhymed verse*) (in *The Pleasures of Piety, and Other Poems*, pp. 178-84)[1]

Charles Eliot Norton *

(1827-1908)

1859. Vita Nuova ('The New Life')[2] (selections) (in *Atlantic Monthly*, January, February, March, 1859, vol. iii, pp. 62-9, 202-12, 330-9)

* See also under 1867, 1891, 1892, 1897, 1902.

John Wesley Thomas *

1859. Inferno ('The Trilogy; or Dante's Three Visions—Inferno, or the Vision of Hell') (*terza rima*)

Par. xxiv. 35-147 (*prose*) . . . (in *Religious Opinions of Dante*, p. xlvi)

Inf. ii. 28-31 (*prose*) . . . . . (*ibid.*)

Purg. vii. 7-8 (*prose*) . . . . . (*ibid.*)

Purg. xxii. 60 (*prose*) . . . . . (*ibid.*, p. xlvii)

Purg. v. 107 (*prose*) . . . . . (*ibid.*)

Purg. iii. 118-35 . . . . . (*ibid.*)

And sundry passages (in *Life of Dante* and *Notes*) from Dante's prose works[3]

* See also under 1862, 1866.

Bruce Whyte *

1859. Inferno ('A Free Translation, in Verse, of the Inferno of Dante') (*terza rima*)

* See also under 1841.

Thomas Love Peacock *

1860. Par. xxxi. 70-2 (*terza rima*) (in *Gryll Grange*)

* See also under 1816.

Samuel Robinson

(1794-1884)

1860. (In *Translations from Dante, Ariosto, Horace, etc.*[4]—in *terza rima*)

Inf. iii ('The Third Canto of Dante's Inferno: An Attempt to combine a Literal Rendering with the Triple Rhyme of the Original') . . . (pp. 5-11)

[1] See T. W. Koch, *A List of Danteiana in American Libraries*, p. 9.

[2] Reprinted, with additions, in book form in the same year.

[3] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, pp. 46-7.

[4] Anonymous—privately printed.

John Ruskin *

1860. (In *Unto this Last*, in *Cornhill Magazine*, August–November, 1860, in *prose*)
Par. xviii. 91–3 . . . . . (in *Essay* iii)
Inf. vii. 13–14 . . . . . (in *Essay* iv)

* See also under 1856, 1870, 1871, 1872, 1874.

John Payne
(1842–1915)

c. 1860. Divina Commedia ('*verse*') [1]
Canzoniere ('*verse*') [1]

Charles James Rowe

c. 1860? Son. xv (V. N. § 26) (*verse*) [2]

Matthew Arnold *
(1822–1888)

1861. Inf. xvi. 61–3 (*prose*) (in *On Translating Homer*, Lecture ii, p. 58)

* See also under 1862, 1863, 1880.

Dante Gabriel Rossetti *

1861. Vita Nuova ('The New Life') (*poems* in *rhymed verse*) (in *Early Italian Poets*, pp. 223–309)
Son. ('Messer Brunetto') . . . . . (p. 310)
Son. xxix. . . . . (p. 311)
Son. xli . . . . . (p. 312)
Son. li . . . . . (p. 313)
Ball. ix . . . . . (p. 314)
Canz. xvii . . . . . (pp. 315–17)
Son. ('Un dì si venne') . . . . . (p. 318)
Son. xxxiv . . . . . (p. 319)
Son. xlvi . . . . . (p. 321)
Son. xxx . . . . . (p. 323)
Sest. i . . . . . (pp. 324–6)
Son. xxxiii . . . . . (p. 327)

* See also under 1849, 1862, 1870, 1874, 1881.

[1] Not published; presumably the *Canzoniere* was included, it being stated in his *Biography* (p. 12) that 'between the ages of fourteen and nineteen he made metrical translations of the whole of Dante, Goethe's *Hermann und Dorothea*, etc., etc.' The MS. of the translation of Dante was destroyed by Payne.

[2] See T. W. Koch, *Catalogue of the Cornell Dante Collection*, vol. i, pp. 79, 81; vol. ii, p. 411.

1861. Son. xxxii . . . . . (p. 340)
Son. xxxvii . . . . . (p. 436)
Son. lii ('Bicci novel') . . . . . (p. 439)
Son. liv ('Chi udisse tossir') . . . . . (p. 440)

William Michael Rossetti *

(1829–1919)

1861. Inf. x. 55–63, 67–72, 109–14 (*blank verse*) [1] (in D. G. Rossetti's *Early Italian Poets*, pp. 199–200)

* See also under 1865, 1878, 1910.

Samuel Harvey Reynolds

(1831–1897)

1861. (In *Dante and his English Translators*, in *Westminster Review*. January, 1861) (in *prose*) [2]
Par. iii. 121–3 . . . . . (p. 6) [3]
Par. vii. 7–9; xxiii. 97–102 . . . . . (pp. 7–8)
Purg. xxvii. 37–9 . . . . . (p. 8)
Inf. i. 19–21 . . . . . (p. 23)
Purg. v. 102; Par. xv. 146 . . . . . (p. 25)

John Wesley Thomas *

1862. Purgatorio ('The Trilogy; or Dante's Three Visions—Purgatorio, or the Vision of Purgatory') (*terza rima*)
And sundry passages (in *Introduction* and *Notes*) from Dante's prose works [4]

* See also under 1859, 1866.

Theodore Martin *

1862. Vita Nuova (*poems* in *rhymed verse*)
Inf. ii. 103–5 (*terza rima*) . . . (in *Introduction*, p. ix)
Purg. xxiv. 52–4 (*terza rima*) . . . (in *Introduction*, p. ix)
Canz. iii (V. N. § 32), ll. 55–6 . . . (in *Introduction*, p. xxv)
Son. xxxiii. 5–14 [5] . . . (in *Introduction*, pp. xxxv–vi)
Purg. xxx. 115–38 (*terza rima*) (in *Introduction*, pp. xxxviii–ix)
Purg. xxxi. 49–63 (*terza rima*) . . . (in *Introduction*, p. xl)
Canz. ('Io miro i crespi') . . (in *Introduction*, pp. xlvi–l)

* See also under 1845. 1864, 1871, 1893, 1907.

[1] This rendering was somewhat modified when the complete translation of the *Inferno* was published in 1865.

[2] Reprinted in *Studies on Many Subjects*, London, 1898.

[3] The page references are to the reprint.

[4] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, pp. 48–9.

[5] This rendering differs slightly from that on pp. 96–7.

Theodore Martin (*continued*)

1862. Conv. i. 7, ll. 91–5 . . . . . (in *Introduction*, p. lvi)
Son. xxxii . . . . . (in *Notes*, pp. 88–9)
Son. xlviii . . . . . (in *Notes*, p. 90)
Canz. xvi . . . . . (in *Notes*, pp. 91–3)
Son. xxvii . . . . . (in *Notes*, p. 96)
Son. xxxiii . . . . . (in *Notes*, pp. 96–7)
Son. xxxv . . . . . (in *Notes*, p. 97)
Son. xlvii . . . . . (in *Notes*, pp. 97–8)
Canz. xiii . . . . . (in *Notes*, pp. 98–102)
Son. xxix . . . . . (in *Notes*, pp. 102–3)
Son. li . . . . . (in *Notes*, pp. 104–5)
Ball. ii . . . . . (in *Notes*, pp. 105–6)
Canz. xvii . . . . . (in *Notes*, pp. 107–10)
Conv. ii. 2, ll. 1–3 . . . . . (in *Notes*, pp. 111–12)
Conv. ii. 13, ll. 4–52 . . . . . (in *Notes*, pp. 113–14)
Son. xxxiv . . . . . (in *Notes*, pp. 115–16)

Mrs. C. H. Ramsay *

1862. Inferno ('Dante's Divina Commedia: Inferno') (*terza rima*)
Purgatorio ('Dante's Divina Commedia: Purgatorio') (*terza rima*)
V. N. §§ 18, 19, ll. 1–12 . . . (in note to *Purg.* xxiv. 51)

* See also under 1863.

Anonymous

1862. (In *National Review*, July, 1862, in *The Growth of the Early Italian Poetry*, review of D. G. Rossetti's *Early Italian Poets*)
V. E. i. 12, ll. 6–35 . . . . . (p. 62)
Purg. xxvi. 118–19 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 66)
V. E. ii. 2, ll. 79 ff. . . . . (p. 67)
Purg. xxiv. 49–57 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 80)
Purg. xxvi. 92, 97–9, 112–14 (*prose*) . . . . (p. 82)
Purg. xi. 94–9 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 83)
Conv. ii. 16, ll. 99–103 . . . . . (p. 88)
Purg. xxxi. 49–51 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 89)

Dante Gabriel Rossetti *

1862. Inf. v. 112–42 ('Francesca da Rimini') (*terza rima*) [1]

* See also under 1849, 1861, 1870, 1874, 1881.

[1] Affixed to the water-colour drawing of Francesca da Rimini of 1862; signed, and dated 'Sept. 1862'. This translation was first published in the *Athenaeum*, January 11, 1879.

William P. Wilkie *

1862. Inferno ('Dante's Divina Commedia: the Inferno')[1] (*in regular blank verse*)

* See also under 1866.

Robert Browning *

1862. Conv. ii. 9, ll. 132–6 (written in his wife's Testament)[2]

* See also under 1845.

Hugh Bent

1862. Inferno (*terza rima*)[3]

Matthew Arnold *

1862. (In *On Translating Homer: Last Words*, in *prose*)
Purg. xxiii. 124–6, 127–9 . . . . . (p. 34)
Inf. xxxiii. 49–50 . . . . . (p. 64)

1863. Purg. xxx. 121–45 (*prose*) (in *Essay on Dante and Beatrice*,[4] in *Fraser's Magazine*, vol. lxvii, pp. 665–9; reprinted in *Essays on Criticism*, ed. 1907, p. 259)

* See also under 1861, 1880.

Mrs. C. H. Ramsay *

1863. Paradiso ('Dante's Divina Commedia: Paradiso') (*terza rima*)
V. E. ii. 6, ll. 81–4 . . . . (in note to *Par.* x. 121–3)
Epist. x, § 10 . . . . . (in note to *Par.* xvii. 70–2)

* See also under 1862.

Henry Clark Barlow

(1806–1876)

1864. (In *Critical, Historical, and Philosophical Contributions to the Study of the Divina Commedia*)
Conv. i. 1, ll. 111–18 . . . . . (pp. 379–80)
Par. xxiv. 70–8, 79–81, 106–8 (*prose*) . . . (pp. 509–10)
Epist. v, ll. 1–13 . . . . . (p. 559)
Epist. vii, ll. 31–2 . . . . . (p. 564)

[1] No more was published.

[2] Quoted by Browning in a letter written in 1876 to a lady 'who believed herself dying'; printed in *Contemporary Review*, vol. lx, p. 881, in article on 'The Religious Opinions of Robert Browning', by Mrs. Sutherland Orr.

[3] Printed, but not published. See note by J. Bouchier, in *Notes and Queries*, 5th Series, viii. 366. Nov. 10, 1877. Hugh Bent had previously (in 1856) published a verse translation 'in octaves' of Tasso's 'Jerusalem Delivered'.

[4] A review of Theodore Martin's translation of the *Vita Nuova*.

Theodore Martin *

1864. Vita Nuova and Lyrical Poems (second edition)[1]

* See also under 1845, 1862, 1871, 1893, 1907.

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow *

1864. Par. xxiii–xxv (*blank verse*) (in *Atlantic Monthly*, January, 1864, vol. xiii, pp. 47–55)

1865. Inferno (*blank verse*) [2]

* See also under 1830, 1839, 1845, 1866, 1867.

Anonymous

1865. (In *Cornhill Magazine*, August, 1865, pp. 243–56)

Inf. xix. 115–17 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 243)
Par. xxvii. 22–5, 40–2, 45–57 (*prose*) . . . . (p. 243)
Son. xxxii ('Guido, vorrei') (*prose lines*) . . . (p. 245)
Purg. xxx. 22–33, 121–3 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 246)
Purg. vi. 126 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 246)
Inf. x. 46–8 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 247)
Inf. xxxii. 97–9 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 248)
Par. xvii. 58–60 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 249)
Purg. i. 1–3, 5–6 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 250)
Ecl. i. 42–4 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 256)

And sundry passages from Dante's prose works [3]

Thomas William Parsons *

1865. Seventeen Cantos of the Inferno (*rhymed quatrains*) [4]

* See also under 1843, and note.

John Dayman *

1865. Divina Commedia ('The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri') (*terza rima*) [5]

* See also under 1843.

[1] First published in 1862. Another edition was published in 1871.

[2] Privately printed (ten copies, of which five were sent to Italy—in commemoration of the sixth centenary of Dante's birth). See T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, p. 94. From an entry in Longfellow's *Journal* it appears that his translation of the *Divina Commedia* was completed on April 16, 1863; the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* were translated first, the *Inferno* last.

[3] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, p. 51.

[4] Privately printed, in commemoration of 'the six-hundredth birthday of Dante'. See T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, p. 94.

[5] The version of the *Inferno*, which was first published in 1843, is here issued in a revised form.

William Michael Rossetti *

1865. Inferno ('The Comedy of Dante Alighieri, Part i—the Hell')[1] (*blank verse*)

* See also under 1861, 1878, 1910.

James Ford *

1865. Inferno ('The Inferno of Dante, Translated in the Metre of the Original') (*terza rima*)

* See also under 1870.

Giacomo Pincherle *

1865. (In *Omaggio a Dante: Dante's Memorial*, Trieste, 1865, pp. 4–9)[2]
Son. i (V. N. § 3)
Son. xlviii
Son. xxx

* See also under 1881.

Vincenzo Botta

1865. (In *Dante as Philosopher, Patriot, and Poet*)[3]
Sundry passages from Dante's prose works, and *Eclogues* (in *prose*)

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow *

1866. Purgatorio (*blank verse*)[4]

* See also under 1830, 1839, 1864, 1865, 1867.

Thomas William Parsons *

1866. Inf. xxvi. 79–142 ('The Story of Ulysses') (*rhymed quatrains*) (in the *Galaxy*, August, 1866, vol. i, pp. 605–7)[5]

* See also under 1843, and note.

John Wesley Thomas *

1866. Paradiso ('The Trilogy; or Dante's Three Visions—Paradiso, or the Vision of Paradise') (*terza rima*)
And sundry passages (in the *Notes*) from Dante's prose works[6]

* See also under 1859, 1862.

[1] No more was published.

[2] See T. W. Koch, *Catalogue of the Cornell Dante Collection*, vol. i, p. 80; vol. ii, p. 379.

[3] Reissued in 1887, with the title *Introduction to the Study of Dante*.

[4] Privately printed (ten copies). See T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, p. 96.

[5] See T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, p. 96.

[6] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, p. 53.

William P. Wilkie *

1866. Inferno ('Dante's Inferno translated line for line') [1]

* See also under 1862.

Mary Bayard Clark

1866. (In *Mosses from a Rolling Stone*) [2]

Son. x (V. N. § 20) ('What is Love?') . . . . (p. 158)

Son. xxx ('Beauty and Virtue') . . . . . (p. 158)

Inf. v. 115–38 ('Francesca da Rimini') . . . . (p. 161)

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow *

1867. Paradiso (*blank verse*) [3]

Divina Commedia ('The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri, Translated') (*blank verse*) (in three volumes cr. 8vo) [4]

And numerous passages (in the *Notes*) from Dante's prose works [5]

* See also under 1830, 1839, 1845, 1864, 1865, 1866.

George Washington Greene

1867. Epist. vii (in Longfellow's translation of the *Divina Commedia*, ed. 1867, vol. ii, p. 455)

Charles Richard Weld

1867. (In *Florence, the new Capital of Italy*)

Purg. xxx. 32–3 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 338)

Thomas William Parsons *

1867. Inferno (in *rhymed quatrains*)

* See also under 1843, and note.

John Aitken Carlyle *

1867. Inferno (*prose*) ('second edition, carefully revised') [6]

* See also under 1849.

Charles Eliot Norton *

1867. Vita Nuova (*poems* in *rhymed verse*) [7]

* See also under 1859, 1891, 1892, 1897, 1902.

[1] First published in 1862; now considerably revised.

[2] See T. W. Koch, *A List of Danteiana in American Libraries*, pp. 9, 15, 28.

[3] Privately printed (ten copies). See T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, p. 97.

[4] Now first published. A limited edition, in three volumes, royal 8vo, was issued in the same year.

[5] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, pp. 53–5.

[6] The first edition was published in 1849.

[7] Second edition.

David Johnston *

1867. Inferno ('A Translation of Dante's Inferno') (*blank verse*)
Purgatorio ('A Translation of Dante's Purgatorio') (*blank verse*)

* See also under 1868.

George Henry Calvert

1868. (In *Putnam's Magazine*, February, 1868, N.S. vol. i, pp. 155 ff.)[1] (in *octosyllabic blank verse*)
Inf. iii. 1–9
Inf. v. 115–42
Inf. xxxiii. 46–75
Par. xxxiii. 1–8

John George Harding

1868. (In *Flosculi Literarum; or Gems from the Poetry of all Time, faithfully rendered into English Verse*) (in *blank verse*)
Inf. i . . . . . (pp. 24–37)
Inf. iii. 1–120 . . . . . (pp. 38–51)
Inf. v. 116–42 . . . . . (pp. 104–7)
Inf. xxxiv. 127–39 . . . . . (pp. 110–11)

Algernon Charles Swinburne
(1837–1909)

1868. Purg. v. 135–6 (in *Siena*[2], p. 11)

Sir John Frederick William Herschel
(1792–1871)

1868. Inf. i (*terza rima*) (in *Cornhill Magazine*, July, 1868, vol. xviii, pp. 38–42)

David Johnston *

1868. Paradiso ('A Translation of Dante's Paradiso') (*blank verse*)

* See also under 1867.

Thomas William Parsons *

1869. Son. xv (V. N. § 26) (*rhymed sonnet*) (in *Catholic World*, January, 1869, vol. viii, p. 545)[3]

* See also under 1843, and note.

Edward Hayes Plumptre *
(1821–1891)

1869. In *Quarterly Review*, April, 1869, vol. cxxvi) (in *terza rima*)
Inf. xv. 82–5 . . . . . (p. 418)

* See also under 1881, 1883, 1884, 1886, 1887.

[1] See T. W. Koch, *Catalogue of the Cornell Dante Collection*, vol. i, p. 161.
[2] Privately printed.
[3] See T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, p. 101.

Edward Hayes Plumptre (*continued*)

1869. Inf. iv. 42 . . . . . (p. 419)
Purg. ii. 106–17 . . . . . (p. 421)
Inf. xxii. 1–7 . . . . . (p. 422)
V. N. § 23, ll. 17–19, 43–4, 67–8 . . . . . (p. 422)
Purg. xxx. 121–38 . . . . . (p. 424)
Par. xxv. 1–9 . . . . . (p. 441)
Inf. xxxiii. 149–50 . . . . . (p. 446)

Anonymous

1870. Inf. xxi–vii, xxxii–iv (*terza rima*) (in *Monthly Packet*, Feb., March, May, June, July, Aug., Sept., Oct., Nov., Dec., 1870, N.S. vol. ix, pp. 105–10, 209–13, 417–21, 521–5; vol. x, pp. 1–6, 110–14, 209–13, 313–19, 425–30, 531–5)

Thomas William Parsons *

1870. Son. xv (V. N. § 26) (*rhymed sonnet*) [1] (in *The Old House at Sudbury*, p. 86)
Par. v. 73–80 (*verse*) (in *The Old House at Sudbury*, p. 100)
Purg. i (*rhymed quatrains*) (in *Catholic World*, November, 1870, vol. xii, pp. 145–9) [2]

* See also under 1843, and note.

Dante Gabriel Rossetti *

1870. (Prefixed to *Dante at Verona*, in *Poems*, 1870)
Par. xvii. 58–60 (*terza rima*)
Purg. xxx. 73 (*verse*)

* See also under 1849, 1861, 1862, 1874, 1881.

James Ford *

1870. Divina Commedia ('The Divina Commedia of Dante, Translated into English Verse') (*terza rima*) [3]

* See also under 1865.

R. M'Cully

1870. (In *Intellectual Repository*, 1870)
Par. ii. 130–44 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (pp. 308–9)
Par. xx. 130–8 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (p. 311)
Par. xxxiii. 82–94, 115–20, 124–45 (*prose*) . . (pp. 352–3)

[1] Revised version. See T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, p. 101.
[2] See T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, p. 101.
[3] The *Inferno* alone was published in 1865.

John Ruskin *

1870. Inf. v. 19–20 (in *Verona*, ch. iii, § 9, in *prose*)

* See also under 1856, 1860, 1871, 1872, 1874.

Anonymous

c. 1870? Fragments of translation of the *Divina Commedia* in *terza rima*[1]

Inf. i. 1–100; ii. 1–142; iii. 1–99; vii. 1–39, 55–100; viii. 1–64; xii. 1–25; xx. 1–26; xxiv. 1–36; xxxiii. 1–157; xxxiv. 1–90

Purg. i. 1–51; ii. 1–79; iii. 1–54

Par. ii. 1–102; iii. 1–18; x. 1–15; xi. 1–10; xv. 1–65

Theodore Martin *

1871. Vita Nuova and Lyrical Poems (second, revised, edition)[2]

* See also under 1845, 1862, 1864, 1893, 1907.

Anonymous

1871. Purg. i, ii, v, vi, viii–x (*terza rima*) (in *Monthly Packet*, Feb., March, April, June, July, Oct., Nov., 1871, N.S. vol. xi, pp. 105–9, 217–21, 321–6, 531–6; vol. xii, pp. 1–6, 305–10, 405–9)

Maria Francesca Rossetti

(1827–1876)

1871. (In *A Shadow of Dante*)

Canz. vii. 63–7 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 55)

Purg. vii. 122–3 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 137)

And sundry passages from Dante's prose works[3]

Ernest Ridsdale Ellaby *

(d. 1896)

1871. Inferno i–x ('The Inferno of Dante Alighieri, Translated into English Verse') (Cantos i–iii, in *irregularly rhymed terza rima*; Cantos iv–x, in *blank verse with occasional rhymes*)[4]

* See also under 1874.

John Ruskin *

1871. Inf. vii. 54 (*prose*) (in *Fors Clavigera*, No. viii, August, 1871)

1872. Inf. xxi. 7–9, 16–40, 42–58 (*prose*) (in *Fors Clavigera*, No. xviii, June, 1872)

Inf. ix. 52 (*prose*) (in *Fors Clavigera*, No. xxiv, December, 1872)

Purg. xxxii. 2 (*prose*) (in *Eagle's Nest*, Lecture ix, § 177)

* See also under 1856, 1860, 1870, 1874.

[1] Not published; MS. in my possession.

[2] First published in 1862, reissued in 1864; now revised.

[3] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, pp. 57–8.

[4] No more was published; a second edition, considerably revised, and with the notes at the end omitted, was issued in 1874.

Thomas William Parsons *

1872. Purg. ii, iii, v (*rhymed quatrains*) (in *Catholic World*, January, 1872, vol. xiv, pp. 503–6; September, 1872, vol. xv, pp. 730–3; December, 1872, vol. xvi, pp. 319–22)[1]

* See also under 1843, and note.

Anonymous

1872. Purg. xii–xiii, xvi (*terza rima*) (in *Monthly Packet*, January, April, August, 1872, N.S. vol. xiii, pp. 2–6, 313–17; vol. xiv, pp. 101–6)

John Addington Symonds *

(1840–1893)

1872. (In *Introduction to the Study of Dante*, in *blank verse*)

Purg. ix. 94–105 . . . . . (ed. 1890, p. 119)
Inf. iv. 31–42 . . . . . (pp. 134–5)
Purg. vii. 28–36 . . . . . (p. 135)
Par. xxvii. 22–7 . . . . . (p. 146)
Par. xxvii. 28–36 . . . . . (p. 148)
Purg. iii. 133–5 . . . . . (p. 155)
Purg. xii. 112–14 . . . . . (p. 172)
Purg. viii. 13–15 . . . . . (p. 173)
Purg. vi. 61–6 . . . . . (p. 176)
Par. xxx. 39–42 . . . . . (pp. 180–1)
Par. xxx. 61–9, 91–6 . . . . . (pp. 192–3)
Par. xxxiii. 143–5 . . . . . (p. 194)

And numerous passages in *prose* from the *Divina Commedia*, and sundry from the prose works of Dante[2]

* See also under 1874, *c.* 1886.

Anonymous

1873. Purg. xix, xxi, xxii, xxiv, xxvii (*terza rima*) (in *Monthly Packet*, Feb., April, Oct., Nov., Dec., 1873, N.S. vol. xv, pp. 101–6, 312–16; vol. xvi, pp. 312–16, 417–22, 520–5)

Mandell Creighton *

(1843–1901)

1873. (In *Dante, his Life, his Writings.* Part i, in *Macmillan's Magazine*, vol. xxix, pp. 554–63; reprinted in *Historical Essays and Reviews*,[3] pp. 1–25)

* See also under 1874.

[1] See T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, p. 102.

[2] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, pp. 58-61.

[3] Published in 1902.

1873. Sundry passages from the *Divina Commedia* (in *blank verse* and *prose*), and *Epistolae*[1]

Thomas William Parsons *

1873. Purg. vi–ix, xi, xiv (*rhymed quatrains*) (in *Catholic World*, February, 1873, vol. xvi, pp. 581–4; April, May, June, 1873, vol. xvii, pp. 24–7, 158–61, 304–7; November, December, 1873, vol. xviii, pp. 166–70, 299–302)[2]

1874. Purg. xii, xiv (*rhymed quatrains*) (in *Catholic World*, February, 1874, vol. xviii, pp. 589–90; July, 1874; vol. xix, pp. 450–3)[2]

* See also under 1843, and note.

Dante Gabriel Rossetti *

1874. Vita Nuova (*poems* in *rhymed verse*) (in *Dante and his Circle*,[3] pp. 29–109)

Purg. xi. 94–9 (*terza rima*)[4] . . . (in *Introduction*, p. 10)
Son. ('Messer Brunetto')[5] . . . . . (p. 110)
Son. xxix[6] . . . . . (p. 111)
Son. xli . . . . . (p. 112)
Ball. ix . . . . . (p. 114)
Son. li . . . . . (p. 113)
Canz. ('Poichè ti piace')[7] (*rhymed verse*) . . (pp. 115–17)
Canz. xvii[8] . . . . . (pp. 118–20)
Son. ('Un dì si venne') . . . . . (p. 121)
Son. xxxiv . . . . . (p. 122)
Son. xlvi . . . . . (p. 124)
Son. xxx . . . . . (p. 126)
Sest. i . . . . . (pp. 127–9)
Son. xxxiii . . . . . (p. 130)
Son. xxxii . . . . . (p. 143)
Son. xxxvii . . . . . (p. 240)
Son. liv ('Bicci novel') . . . . . (p. 243)
Son. lii ('Chi udisse tossir') . . . . . (p. 244)

* See also under 1849, 1861, 1862, 1870, 1881.

[1] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, p. 61.

[2] See T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, pp. 102–3.

[3] A new edition, 'revised and rearranged', of the *Early Italian Poets*, published in 1861.

[4] Cayley's version of these lines is given in the earlier edition.

[5] Last line altered. [6] Eighth line altered.

[7] Not included in the *Early Italian Poets*.

[8] In l. 7 'decern' substituted for 'discern'.

John Addington Symonds *

1874. (In *Sketches in Italy and Greece*, in *prose*)
Purg. xii. 34–6 . . . . . (p. 49)
Purg. xxviii. 40–1, 49–51 . . . . . (p. 258)
Inf. ix. 76–8 . . . . . (p. 258)

* See also under 1872, *c.* 1886.

Titus Munson Coan

1874. Son. xi (V. N. § 21) ('Dante praises Beatrice') (*verse*) (in *Lippincott's Magazine*, August, 1874, vol. xiv, p. 191) [1]

John Ruskin *

1874. Purg. xvi. 115–16, 118–20 (*prose*) (in *Val d'Arno*, Lecture i, § 2)

* See also under 1856, 1860, 1870, 1871, 1872.

Ernest Ridsdale Ellaby *

1874. Inferno i–x (second edition) [2]

* See also under 1871.

Charles Tomlinson *
(1808–1897)

1874. (In *The Sonnet: Its Origin, Structure, and Place in Poetry*) (*rhymed sonnets*)
Son. xi (V. N. § 21) . . . . . (pp. 6–7)
Son. xxx . . . . . (p. 46)
Son. xxxix . . . . . (pp. 46–7)
Son. xxix . . . . . (pp. 50–1)
Son. xvi (V. N. § 27) [3] . . . . . (p. 53)
Son. xv (V. N. § 26) [4] . . . . . (p. 64)

* See also under 1877, 1882, 1894, 1898.

Anonymous

1874. (In *The Writings of Dante Alighieri*, by Paolo Emiliani-Giudici)
Purg. xxii. 67–9 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (p. 147)
Inf. iii. 97–9 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 188)

Alfred Forman

1874. Inferno i, iii; Purg. i; Par. i (*dissyllabic-rhymed terza rima*) (in *The Metre of Dante's Comedy discussed and exemplified*,

[1] See T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, p. 103.

[2] First published in 1871 (pp. 114). In the second edition (pp. 75), translation, arguments, and notes, were considerably revised, and a number of the notes (printed at the end of the first edition) were omitted.

[3] Together with ll. 27–44 of prose (pp. 53–4).

[4] Together with §§ 1, 2 (ll. 19–52), 11 (ll. 1–9, 17–29), 26 (ll. 1–36), 27 (ll. 1–11), of prose (pp. 61–5).

1874. published anonymously in *Civil Service Review*, Oct. 30; Nov. 7, 14, 21, 28; Dec. 12, 19)[1]

Margaret Oliphant Oliphant *
(1828–1897)

1874. (In *Makers of Florence*)
Par. xvii. 61–9 (*terza rima*) . . . . (ed. 1885, p. 64)
And sundry passages from Dante's prose works[2]
* See also under 1877.

Mandell Creighton *

1874. (In *Dante, his Life, his Writings.* Part ii, in *Macmillan's Magazine*, vol. xxx, pp. 56–67; reprinted in *Historical Essays and Reviews*,[3] pp. 26–54—in *blank verse*)
Par. xxxiii. 143–5 . . . . . (p. 43)
Inf. xx. 28–30 . . . . . (p. 45)
Inf. iv. 114 . . . . . (p. 49)
Inf. xxiv. 4–15 . . . . . (pp. 50–1)
Purg. vi. 1–9; Inf. xxv. 64–6; xxx. 136–8; Purg. i. 115–17 . . . . . (p. 51)
Purg. xvii. 1–3 . . . . . (p. 52)
Purg. xxvii. 139–42 . . . . . (p. 54)
* See also under 1873.

Thomas William Parsons *

1875. Canz. iii (V. N. § 32), ll. 15–28 ('Beatris') (*verse*) (in *The Willey House, and Sonnets*, p. 27)[4]
Purg. i–ix ('The Antepurgatorio') (*rhymed quatrains*)[5]
* See also under 1843, and note.

Anonymous

1875. (In *Translations and Poems*)[6]
Son. xxxii ('Guido, vorrei') (*rhymed sonnet*) (Son. ii, p. 5)[7]
Son. x ('Amore e 'l cor gentil') (*octosyllabic rhymed sonnet*) (Son. x, p. 15)

[1] The authorship was avowed in a privately printed edition issued in 1878; the translations being by Alfred Forman, and the discussions by H. Buxton Forman).

[2] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, p. 63.

[3] Published in 1902.

[4] See T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, p. 104.

[5] An edition was also published in London in the next year. See T. W. Koch, *Catalogue of the Cornell Dante Collection*, vol. i, p. 48.

[6] Privately printed, London.

[7] The translator's numbering of the sonnets is that of Fraticelli's edition of the *Canzoniere*.

Anonymous (*continued*)

1875. Son. xiv ('Io mi sentii svegliar') (*octosyllabic rhymed sonnet*) (Son. xvi, p. 17)
Son. xv ('Tanto gentile') (*octosyllabic rhymed sonnet*) (Son. xvii, p. 19)
Son. xxii ('Gentil pensiero') (*octosyllabic rhymed sonnet*) (Son. xxviii, p. 21)
Son. xlix ('Se vedi gli occhi miei') (*rhymed sonnet*) (Son. xxxvii, p. 23)
Son. xxxiv ('Io mi credea del tutto') (*octosyllabic rhymed sonnet*) (Son. xl, p. 25)

Anonymous

1875. Inf. x. 22–93 (*terza rima*) (in *The Early Years of Dante*, in *Cornhill Magazine*, October, 1875, vol. xxxii, pp. 471 ff)

Edmund Doidge Anderson Morshead *

(d. 1912)

1875. (In *Dante. An Essay*)[1]
Eclogue i. 42–4 (*rhymed couplets*) . . . . . (p. 5)
Par. xxv. 1–9 (*Spenserian stanzas*) . . . . . (p. 5)
Par. xii. 3 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 10)
Purg. v. 134–6 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 13)
Purg. viii. 6 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 14)
Inf. v. 70–142 (*Spenserian stanzas*) . . . . (pp. 18–20)
Inf. xxx. 58–69 (*rhymed couplets*) . . . . . (p. 20)
Inf. xxxiii. 1–75 (*Spenserian stanzas*) . . . . (pp. 21–3)
Inf. xxvi. 85–142 (*Spenserian stanzas*) . . . (pp. 23–5)

* See also under 1884, 1885, 1903, 1904.

William Charteris

(fl. 1870)

c. 1875. Divina Commedia[2] (*irregular rhymed metre interspersed with Spenserian stanzas*)

James Russell Lowell *

1876. (In *Among my Books*. Second Series)
Inf. xv. 85 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 6)
Par. xvii. 55–60 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 19)
Par. x. 138 (*prose*) . . . . . (pp. 46–7)

* See also under 1859.

[1] Privately printed.
[2] Unpublished; MS. formerly in my possession, now in British Museum.

1875. Inf. viii. 36 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 51)
Par. xvii. 23–4 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 52)
Purg. xxx. 133 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 64)
Par. xvii. 58–9 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 77)
Canz. vi (Conv. ii), ll. 53–61 (*rhymed verse*) . . . (p. 78)
Son. xxiv (V. N. § 41), l. 3 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 84)
Son. xxv (V. N. § 42) (*rhymed sonnet*) . . . (pp. 85–6)
Par. xvi. 67–8 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 107)
Par. i. 70–1 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 118)
Inf. xxx. 66 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 121)
Inf. iv. 80 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 124)
And numerous passages from Dante's prose works [1]

George William Rusden

c. 1876. Son. xv (V. N. § 26) (*verse*) (in *Translations and Fragments*, p. 5) [2]

Charles Tomlinson *

1877. Inferno ('A Vision of Hell') (*terza rima*)
Sundry passages from the *Inferno* in *blank verse* and *prose* [3], in *Dante and his Translators*,[4] pp. 1–37

* See also under 1874, 1882, 1894, 1898.

Margaret Oliphant Oliphant *

1877. (In *Dante for English Readers*—the passages from the *Commedia* in *terza rima*)
Canz. i (V. N. § 19) (*rhymed verse*) . . . . . (pp. 33–5)
Canz. (V. N. § 28) (*rhymed verse*) . . . . . (pp. 40–1)
Canz. iii (V. N. § 32), ll. 1–30, 71–6 (*rhymed verse*) . (pp. 44–5)
Inf. i. 61–84 . . . . . (p. 55)
Inf. ii. 52–117 . . . . . (pp. 57–9)
Inf. iii. 22–51 . . . . . (pp. 60–1)
Inf. iv. 7–45 . . . . . (pp. 62–3)
Inf. v. 73–142 . . . . . (pp. 65–7)
Inf. viii. 28–64 . . . . . (pp. 69–70)
Inf. ix. 64–96, 100–2 . . . . . (pp. 72–3)

* See also under 1874.

[1] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, pp. 65–7.

[2] See T. W. Koch, *Catalogue of the Cornell Dante Collection*, vol. i, p. 81.

[3] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, pp 67–8.

[4] Prefixed to the translation of the *Inferno*.

Margaret Oliphant Oliphant (*continued*)

1877. Inf. x. 22–93 . . . . . (pp. 75–7)
Inf. xiii. 1–6, 22–54 . . . . . (p. 80)
Inf. xiv. 1–30, 37–42 . . . . . (pp. 82–3)
Inf. xv. 13–60 . . . . . (pp. 83–5)
Inf. xxiv. 1–15 . . . . . (pp. 97–8)
Purg. i. 13–21, 115–17 . . . . . (pp. 111–13)
Purg. ii. 67–93, 106–18 . . . . . (p. 115)
Purg. vi. 61–75 . . . . . (p. 120)
Purg. vii. 1–21 . . . . . (p. 121)
Purg. viii. 1–6 . . . . . (p. 122)
Purg. xii. 76–99 . . . . . (pp. 128–9)
Purg. xiv. 109–11, 124–6 . . . . . (p. 132)
Purg. xvi. 85–93, 106–12, 127–9 . . . . . (pp. 135–6)
Purg. xix. 106–35 . . . . . (pp. 139–40)
Purg. xxi. 103–35 . . . . . (pp. 142–3)
Purg. xxiv. 145–54 . . . . . (p. 146)
Purg. xxx. 22–54 . . . . . (pp. 152–3)
Purg. xxxiii. 134–45 . . . . . (p. 156)
Par. iii. 34–75, 88–90 . . . . . (pp. 161–2)
Par. viii. 13–57 . . . . . (pp. 165–6)
Par. ix. 67–72 . . . . . (p. 167)
Par. xiv. 85–108 . . . . . (pp. 171–2)
Par. xviii. 7–21 . . . . . (p. 174)
Par. xxii. 1–12 . . . . . (p. 177)
Par. xxiii. 1–15 . . . . . (pp. 179–80)
Par. xxv. 1–12 . . . . . (pp. 183–4)
Par. xxvii. 1–9 . . . . . (p. 185)
Par. xxx. 19–32 . . . . . (pp. 187–8)
Par. xxxi. 52–93 . . . . . (pp. 190–1)
Par. xxxiii. 58–75 . . . . . (p. 193)
Canz. vi (Conv. ii), ll. 1–9 (*rhymed verse*) . . . (p. 198)
Conv. ii. 9, ll. 49–136 . . . . . (pp. 199–201)
V. E. i. 6, ll. 11–59 . . . . . (pp. 204–5)
Mon. i. 16, ll. 1–29 . . . . . (pp. 206–7)

Thomas Adolphus Trollope
(1810–1892)

1877. (In *Belgravia*,[1] March, 1877, vol. xxxii, in *prose*)
Par. xvii. 58–60 . . . . . (p. 69)
Par. xxv. 5 . . . . . (p. 69)
Par. xv. 97, 99 . . . . . (p. 70)
Son. xxxii. 1–4, 12–14 . . . . . (p. 75)

[1] Reprinted in 1881 in *Homes and Haunts of the Italian Poets*, vol. i, pp. 4–47.

1877. Inf. xv. 55–60, 82–7 . . . . . (p. 76)
Inf. xxx. 64–6 . . . . . (p. 82)
Par. xxi. 106–11 . . . . . (p. 86)
Epist. ix, § 4 . . . . . (p. 88)
Par. xxv. 1–9 . . . . . (p. 89)

William Charles Green

1877. (In *The Similes of Homer's Iliad*, in *prose*)
Inf. xxi. 7–18 . . . . . (p. 13)
Inf. xxiv. 1–18 . . . . . (pp. 14–15)

Thomas William Parsons *

1877. Purg. xv (*rhymed quatrains*) (in *Catholic World*, May, 1877, vol. xxv, pp. 171–4) [1]

1878. Purg. xvi–xvii (*rhymed quatrains*) (in *Catholic World*, May, July, 1878, vol. xxvii, pp. 272–5, 498–501) [1]

* See also under 1843, and note.

William Michael Rossetti *

1878. Inf. xxxiii. 91*–108* (six interpolated terzine) (*blank verse*) (in *Athenaeum*, Sept. 7, 1878)

* See also under 1861, 1865, 1910.

Thomas William Parsons *

1879. Purg. x (*rhymed quatrains*) (in *Catholic World*, June, 1879, vol. xxix, pp. 289–92) [2]

Purg. xiii (*rhymed quatrains*) (in *Catholic World*, December, 1879, vol. xxx, pp. 350–3) [2]

* See also under 1843, and note.

Frederick John Church

(1854–1888)

1879. De Monarchia (also in *Dante. An Essay*, by R. W. Church, pp. 177–308)

Warburton Pike *

(d. 1915)

1879. (In *Translations from Dante, Petrarch, Michael Angelo, and Vittoria Colonna*) [3]

* See also under 1881.

[1] See T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, p. 105.

[2] See T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, p. 106.

[3] Published anonymously. The authorship was avowed in the preface to the translation of the *Inferno*, published by Warburton Pike in 1881.

Warburton Pike (*continued*)

1879. Inf. i. 1–136; iii. 1–51; iv. 1–120; v. 1–142; ix. 106–33; x. 1–136; xviii. 1–18; xix. 1–133; xxii. 13–151; xxvi. 13–142; xxxii. 124–39; xxxiii. 1–150 (*terza rima*) . . (pp. 5–57)
Purg. ii. 67–133; vi. 58–151; viii. 1–6; xi. 1–99; xxx. 22–145; xxxi. 1–66 (*terza rima*) . (pp. 59–77)
Par. xv. 85–148; xvii. 1–142 (*terza rima*) . . (pp. 79–87)
Canz. xx. ('Tre donne intorno al cor')[1] (*rhymed verse*) . . . . . (pp. 95–9)
Canz. xviii ('O patria degna')[2] (*rhymed verse*) . (pp. 100–3)
Son. xxxii ('Guido, vorrei')[3] (*rhymed sonnet*) . . (p. 104)
Son. x (V. N. § 20) (*rhymed sonnet*)[4] . . . . (p. 105)
Son. xiv (V. N. § 24) (*rhymed sonnet*)[5] . . . . (p. 106)
Son. xv (V. N. § 26) (*rhymed sonnet*)[6] . . . . (p. 107)
Son. xxii (V. N. § 39) (*rhymed sonnet*)[7] . . . . (p. 108)
Son. xlix ('Se vedi gli occhi miei')[8] (*rhymed sonnet*) . . . . . (p. 109)
Son. xxxiv ('Lo mi credea del tutto')[9] (*rhymed sonnet*) . . . . . (p. 110)

Anonymous

1879. Par. xxxiii (*terza rima*) (in *Translations from Dante, Petrarch*, &c., by Warburton Pike,[10] pp. 88–93)

John Henry Bridges *

(1832–1906)

1879. Par. xxxi. 31–9 (*prose*) (in *Religion and Progress*, in *Essays and Addresses*, 1907, p. 63)

* See also under 1888, 1889.

Anonymous

1879. Par. xxxiii. 1–37 (*verse*) (in *Irish Monthly*, Nov. 1879, vol. vii, p. 571)

[1] Numbered Canz. xix by the translator.
[2] Numbered Canz. xx.
[3] Numbered Son. ii.
[4] Numbered Son. x, in octosyllabic lines.
[5] Numbered Son. xvi, in octosyllabic lines.
[6] Numbered Son. xvii, in octosyllabic lines.
[7] Numbered Son. xxviii, in octosyllabic lines.
[8] Numbered Son. xxxvii.
[9] Numbered Son. xl, in octosyllabic lines.
[10] See Preface, p. v: 'the translation of the last canto of the *Paradiso* is by a lady'.

William Thomas Thornton
(1813–1880)

1879. Inf. v. 70–138 ('Paolo and Francesca') (*terza rima*) (in *Spectator*, June 7, 1879, vol. lii, p. 725)

Philip Henry Wicksteed *
(1849–)

1879. (In *Six Sermons on Dante*, in *prose*)
Inf. iii. 40–2 (*terza rima*), 51 . . . . . (p. 18)
And numerous passages (in *prose*) from the *Divina Commedia*[1]

* See also under 1896, 1898, 1899, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1906.

Matthew Arnold *

1880. (In Introduction to Ward's *English Poets*, vol. i, p. xxvi, in *prose*)
Inf. xxxiii. 39–40; ii. 91–3
Par. iii. 85

* See also under 1861, 1862, 1863.

James MacGregor
(1832–1911)

1880. Paradiso (*prose*)[2]

Earl of Carnarvon
(1831–1890)

c. 1880. (In *Essays, Addresses, and Translations*, 1896)
Son. v (V. N. § 9) (*rhymed sonnet*) . . . (vol. ii, p. 391)
Ball. i. 1–14 (V. N. § 12) (*rhymed couplets*) . (vol. ii, p. 391)
Son. xi (V. N. § 21) (*rhymed sonnet*) . . (vol. ii, p. 391)

Arthur John Butler *
(1844–1910)

c. 1880. Purg. xxvii. 94–108 (*blank verse*)[3]
1880. Purgatorio ('The Purgatory of Dante Alighieri') (*prose*)

* See also under 1885, 1891, 1892, 1893, *c.* 1897, 1910.

Matthew Russell

1880. Par. xxxiii. 1–36 ('Dante's Prayer to the Blessed Virgin')[4] (in *stanzas of three rhymed lines*) (in *Madonna: Verses on Our Lady and the Saints*, pp. 45–6)[5]

[1] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, pp. 72–3.

[2] Not published—written on margins of a copy of the edition of the *Commedia* published by Arnold, London, 1827, formerly in my possession, now in Bodleian.

[3] Printed in *A Memoir of Arthur John Butler*, 1917 (p. 103).

[4] Not Dante's, but St. Bernard's prayer.

[5] See T. W. Koch, *A List of Danteiana in American Libraries*, p. 9.

Thomas William Parsons *

1880. Purg. xviii–xx (*rhymed quatrains*) (in *Catholic World*, April, July, 1880, vol. xxxi, pp. 17–20, 450–3; December, 1880, vol. xxxii, pp. 420–4)[1]

1881. Purg. xxi (*rhymed quatrains*) (in *Catholic World*, December, 1881, vol. xxxiv, pp. 416–19)[1]

* See also under 1843, and note.

Dante Gabriel Rossetti *

1881. Purg. v. 130–6 ('La Pia') (*terza rima*) (in *Poems*, 1881)

* See also under 1849, 1861, 1862, 1870, 1874.

Warburton Pike *

1881. Inferno ('The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri, Inferno')[2] (*terza rima*)

Inf. ii. 122 . . . (alternative rendering, in *Notes*, p. 205)
Inf. iv. 32–6 . . . (alternative rendering, in *Notes*, p. 206)
Inf. x. 82 . . (three alternative renderings, in *Notes*, p. 209)
Inf. xiii. 21 . (two alternative renderings, in *Notes*, pp. 209–10)
Inf. xviii. 51 . . . (alternative rendering, in *Notes*, p. 210)
Inf. xviii. 134–5 . . (alternative rendering, in *Notes*, p. 211)
Inf. xxviii. 135 . . (alternative rendering, in *Notes*, p. 213)
Inf. xxxi. 136–8 . . (alternative rendering, in *Notes*, p. 213)
Inf. xxxii. 47 . . . (alternative rendering, in *Notes*, p. 214)
Inf. xxxii. 70–1 . . (alternative rendering, in *Notes*, p. 214)

* See also under 1879.

Edward Hayes Plumptre *

1881. (In *Two Studies in Dante*, in *Contemporary Review*, December, 1881, vol. xl, pp. 843–64, in *terza rima*)

Par. x. 136–8 . . . . . (p. 844)
Inf. xv. 4–6 . . . . . (p. 845)
Inf. xii. 118–20; Purg. vii. 130–2; Par. xix. 121–3; Inf. xxviii. 133–5. . . . . (p. 846)
Par. xvii. 58–60 . . . . . (p. 847)
Inf. xxiii. 61–3 . . . . . (p. 849)
Par. ii. 145–8 . . . . . (p. 851)
Par. ii. 97–9; xxvii. 142–4; xiii. 124–6 . . . . (p. 852)
Par. xix. 70–5 . . . . . (p. 853)
Par. xi. 124–32; xxvii. 49–54; x. 133–5 . . . . (p. 854)
Purg. ii. 108 . . . . . (p. 855)

* See also under 1869, 1883, 1884, 1886, 1887.

[1] See T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, pp. 106–7.

[2] No more was published.

1881. Par. xxii. 112–14 . . . . . (p. 856)
Inf. xvi. 106–8; Par. xxiv. 46–8 . . . . . (p. 857)
Inf. xiii. 64–6; Purg. vii. 121–3 . . . . . (p. 861)
Canz. viii. 112–18 (*rhyme*) . . . . . (p. 862)

James Pincherle *

1881. Son. xv (V. N. § 26)[1]

* See also under 1865.

Charles Tomlinson *

1882. (In *The Leading Idea of the Divine Comedy*, in *The Modern Review*, January, 1882, vol. iii. 93–118)
Purg. v. 133–6 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 94)
Purg. viii. 1–6 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (p. 100)
Inf. i. 4–7 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (p. 101)
Inf. i. 63, 82–7, 122–3 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (p. 102)
Inf. ii. 52–70, 85–120, 76–8 (*terza rima*) . . . (pp. 103–4)
Son. xi (V. N. § 21) (*rhymed sonnet*) . . . (pp. 108–9)
Son. xv (V. N. § 26) (*rhymed sonnet*) . . . (pp. 111–12)
V. N. § 27, ll. 1–10; Son. xvi (§ 27) (*rhymed sonnet*) . (p. 112)
Son. xxix (*rhymed sonnet*) . . . . . (p. 113)
Purg. xxx. 136–41 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 115)
Inf. ii. 92–3 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 116)
Purg. xxxi. 106–8 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 116)
Par. xviii. 16–21 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 117)
Inf. i. 6 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 117)
And sundry passages from the *Vita Nuova*[2]

* See also under 1874, 1877, 1894, 1898.

Charles Lancelot Shadwell *

(1840–1919)

1882. Inf. xxvi. 90–142 ('Ulysses') (*Marvellian stanzas*)[3]

* See also under 1892, 1899, 1907, 1909, 1915.

Minot Judson Savage

1882. Son. xv (V. N. § 26) ('Dante's Praise of Beatrice') (free version, not in sonnet form) (in *Poems*, 1882)[4]

[1] Published on a sheet at Trieste, together with the Italian, in 1881 (copy in the British Museum).

[2] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, p. 75.

[3] Not published till 1907.

[4] See T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, p. 107.

Douglas William Freshfield
(1845–)

1882. (In *Notes on Old Tracks*, iv, *The Mountains of Dante*, in *Alpine Journal*, vol. x, Feb., 1882—in *prose*)
Purg. iv. 52–4 . . . . . (p. 403)
Inf. xxiv. 19–30, 61–4 . . . . . (p. 404)

Henry Ignatius Dudley Ryder

1882. (In *The Poet's Purgatory, and other Poems, original and translated*) (*rhymed sonnets*)
Son. xv (V. N. § 26) . . . . . (p. 154)
Son. xxiv (V. N. § 41) . . . . . (p. 155)
Son. xxv (V. N. § 42) . . . . . (p. 156)
Son. xxxiv ('Io mi credea') . . . . . (p. 157)
Son. xxxii ('Guido, vorrei') . . . . . (p. 158)

Thomas William Parsons *

1883. Purg. xxx (*rhymed quatrains*) (in *Catholic World*, April, 1883, vol. xxxvii, pp. 19–22)[1]

* See also under 1843, and note.

William Stratford Dugdale
(d. 1882)

1883. Purgatorio ('Dante's Divine Comedy—the Purgatorio. A Prose Translation')[2]

Edward Hayes Plumptre *

1883. (In *Samples of a New Translation of the Divina Commedia*, in *terza rima*)
Inf. i–iv; v. 73–142; xxxiii. 1–75 (pp. 5–23)

* See also under 1869, 1881, 1884, 1886, 1887.

Ninian Hill Thomson

1883. (In *Machiavelli's Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livius*)
Purg. vii. 121–3 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 53)
Conv. i. 11, ll. 53–4 . . . . . (p. 159)

Edmund Doidge Anderson Morshead *

1884. Purg. ii. 55–133 ('Dante and Casella') (*Spenserian stanzas*) (in *Oxford Magazine*, Feb. 20, 1884, vol. ii, p. 103)

* See also under 1875, 1885, 1903, 1904.

Anonymous

1884. Inf. v (*bastard terza rima*) (in *Oxford Magazine*, May 7, 1884, vol. ii, pp. 215–16)

[1] See T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, p. 108.
[2] Published posthumously.

Edward Hayes Plumptre*

1884. (In *Contemporary Review*, September, 1884, vol. xlvi, pp. 322–42, in *terza rima*)

Inf. vii. 115–21; Purg. i. 1–6, 13–20, 115–17 . . . (p. 323)
Purg. i. 58–72; v. 7–21; x. 130–40; xi. 61–4 . . . (p. 324)
Purg. xi. 85–104, 115–19; xiii. 133–8; xxx. 37–9 . . (p. 325)
Purg. xxx. 43–8, 55–7, 64–81, 91–9, 103–8, 115–45 . (pp. 326–7)
Purg. xxxi. 1–67 . . . . . (pp. 327–9)
Purg. ii. 7–9, 13–15; vii. 43–5, 73–81; viii. 1–6 . . (p. 330)
Purg. ix. 1–13; xiii. 16–21; xiv. 148–50; xxiv. 145–50; xxvii. 88–93 . . . . . (pp. 330–1)
Purg. xxvii. 124–42; xxviii. 1–21; i. 94–9, 126–8, 103–5 . . . . . (pp. 331–3)
Purg. ix. 31–3, 46–8, 82–4, 94–102, 109–14, 127–32 . (pp. 333–5)
Purg. ii. 46–7, 106–14; ix. 109–15 . . . . (pp. 335–6)
Purg. xi. 1–24; xii. 110–14; xv. 37–9; xvi. 19–24; xxvii. 67–9 . . . . . (p. 337)
Purg. xxvii. 20–1, 25–7, 49–54, 55–60 . . . . (p. 338)
Purg. xxix. 1–3; xxx. 10–33 . . . . . (p. 339)
Purg. xxxi. 91–105, 124–45 . . . . . (p. 340)
Purg. xxxiii. 85–7, 91–3, 110–45 . . . . (pp. 341–2)

* See also under 1869, 1881, 1883, 1886, 1887.

Sarah Freeman Clarke

1884. Epist. ix (in *Notes on the Exile of Dante*, in *Century*, April, 1884, vol. xxvii, p. 839)

James Romanes Sibbald

1884. Inferno ('The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri—the Inferno')[1] (*terza rima*)

Purg. iii. 122 (*prose*) . . . . (in *Introduction*, p. xliii)
Canz. i (V. N. § 19), l. 1 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. lvii)
Canz. viii (Conv. iv), ll. 121–39 (*prose*) . . . . (p. lxiv)
Purg. xi. 94–6 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (p. lxviii)
Purg. xx. 76 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. lxxviii)
Par. ii. 1–2, 5–6 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. xciv)
Par. xxiv. 86, 145 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. cvi)
Par. xxv. 1–9 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (p. cix)
And sundry passages (in *Introduction* and *Notes*) from the *Convivio* and *Epistolae*[2]

[1] No more was published.

[2] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, p. 77.

John Watts de Peyster

1885. Inf. v. 73–123 ('Francesca da Rimini') (*blank verse*)[1]

Edmund Doidge Anderson Morshead *

1885. Purg. iii. 91–145 ('Manfred of Sicily') (*Spenserian stanzas*) (in *Oxford Magazine*, Feb. 25, 1885, vol. iii, p. 106)

* See also under 1875, 1884, 1903, 1904.

Arthur John Butler *

1885. Paradiso ('The Paradise of Dante Alighieri') (*prose*)

* See also under 1880, 1891, 1892, 1893, *c.* 1897, 1910.

James Innes Minchin

1885. Divina Commedia ('The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri') (*terza rima*)[2]

John Addington Symonds *

c. 1886. Par. xvi. 49–57 (*prose*) (in *Giovanni Boccaccio as Man and Author*,[3] pp. 4–5)

* See also under 1872, 1874.

Charles Kegan Paul

(d. 1902)

1886. Son. xv (V. N. § 26) (*rhymed sonnet*) (in *The Sonnets of Europe*, edited by Samuel Waddington, p. 247)

Arabella Shore

(d. 1900)

1886. (In *Dante for Beginners*)
Numerous passages (in *various metres* and *prose*) from nearly every canto of the *Divina Commedia*[4]

Frederick Kill Harford

(d. 1906)

1886. Inf. v (*blank verse*)[5]

1887. Purg. xi. 1–24 (*blank verse*)[6]

[1] Privately printed; see T. W. Koch, *Dante in America*, p. 110.

[2] First completed in 1857.

[3] Published posthumously.

[4] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, pp. 78–81.

[5] Printed as specimen of an unpublished 'Inferno, closely translated in metre'.

[6] Privately printed; copy in library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

Samuel Waddington

1886. Son. xxx ('Due donne in cima della mente mia') (*rhymed sonnet*)[1] (in *The Sonnets of Europe*, p. 247)

Edward Hayes Plumptre *

1886. Inferno and Purgatorio (in 'The Commedia and Canzoniere of Dante Alighieri', vol. i) (*terza rima*)

1887. Paradiso (in 'The Commedia and Canzoniere of Dante Alighieri', vol. ii, pp. 1–196) (*terza rima*)

Canzoniere[2] (in the same, pp. 199–317) (*rhymed verse*)

Credo, Sacramenta, Decalogus, Septem Peccata, Paternoster, Ave Maria (in the same, pp. 318–25) (*terza rima*)

Latin Eclogues (in the same, pp. 326–41) (*blank verse*)[3]

* See also under 1869, 1881, 1883, 1884.

Henry Sebastian Bowden

1887. (In *Dante's Divina Commedia: Its Scope and Value.* From the German of Franz Hettinger)

Numerous passages from Dante's prose works[4]

Thomas Davidson

1887. (In *A Handbook to Dante.* From the Italian of G. A. Scartazzini)

Numerous passages from the *Divina Commedia* (in *prose*), and from Dante's prose works, and one passage (in *prose*) from the *Eclogues* (Ecl. i. 51–64, on p. 210)

Frederick Kneller Haselfoot Haselfoot *

(d. 1905)

1887. Divina Commedia ('The Divina Commedia of Dante Alighieri. Translated line for line in the terza rima of the original')

* See also under 1899.

Elizabeth Price Sayer

1887. Convivio ('*Il Convito.* The Banquet of Dante Alighieri')[5] (the *canzoni* in *rhymed stanzas*)

[1] Reprinted with the title 'Beauty and Duty (from Dante)' in 1906 in *The Sonnets of S. Waddington* (p. 46).

[2] The collection printed by Fraticelli, consisting of 49 sonnets, 21 canzoni, 12 ballate, 3 sestine, and 1 'stanza'.

[3] The first English translation of the Eclogues.

[4] Second edition in 1894.

[5] This is the first English translation of the *Convivio*.

Elizabeth Rachel Chapman

1887. Purg. xxx–xxxi ('The Meeting of Dante and Beatrice in the Earthly Paradise'—a *blank verse* paraphrase in *The New Purgatory and Other Poems*, pp. 64–80)

Richard Watson Gilder

1887. Son. xv (V. N. § 26) (*rhymed sonnet*) (in *Lyrics*, p. 122)[1]

Louise Imogen Guiney *

(d. 1920)

1887. (In *The White Sail, and Other Poems—rhymed sonnets*)[1]

Son. xiv (V. N. § 24) . . . . . (p. 145)
Son. xv (V. N. § 26) . . . . . (p. 146)
Son. xviii (V. N. § 35) . . . . . (p. 147)
Son. xxiv (V. N. § 41) . . . . . (p. 148)

* See also under 1895.

Frederick York Powell

(1850–1904)

c. 1887. Son. xxx (*irregularly rhymed sonnet*)[2]

Henry Morley

(1822–1894)

1888. (In *English Writers*, vol. iii, in *terza rima*)

Purg. xi. 94–9 . . . . . (p. 400)

Anonymous

1888. (In *London Quarterly Review*, vol. lxx, April, 1888, in *terza rima*)

Inf. iii. 36–51 . . . . . (p. 77)
Inf. v. 13–24 . . . . . (p. 78)
Purg. vi. 76–151 . . . . . (pp. 86–8)
Par. xxvii. 136–8 . . . . . (p. 90)

John Augustine Wilstach

1888. Divina Commedia ('The Divine Comedy of Dante, Translated into English Verse') (in *nine-lined stanzas, rhyming irregularly*)

John Henry Bridges *

1888. (In *Love the Principle*, in *Essays and Addresses*, 1907—in *prose*)

Purg. xvii. 91–139 . . . . . (pp. 97–8)
Par. xviii. 100 . . . . . (p. 100)

* See also under 1879.

[1] See T. W. Koch, *Catalogue of the Cornell Dante Collection*, vol. i, p. 79.

[2] Not published; written in the author's copy of E. P. Sayer's translation of the *Convivio* (published in 1887).

1888. Purg. xviii. 101–2 . . . . . (p. 100)
Inf. iii. 34–48, 64, 63, 51 . . . . . (p. 101)

1889. (In *Dante's Position in the History of Humanity*, in *Essays and Addresses*, 1907—in *prose*)
Epist. ix, ll. 44–8 . . . . . (p. 225)
Par. xv. 99–102, 112–26, 130–3 . . . . . (p. 225)
Par. xxv. 1–9 . . . . . (pp. 225–6)
Par. xviii. 115, 118–29, 130–6 . . . . . (pp. 227–8)

Samuel Byrne

1889. Purg. xxxi. 127–45 ('The Vision of Beatrice', in *Catholic World*, vol. xlviii, p. 670, February, 1889) (*terza rima*) [1]

Katherine Hillard

1889. Convivio ('The Banquet—*il Convito*—of Dante Alighieri') (the *canzoni* in *blank verse*)
Ball. x (*blank verse*) . . . . . (pp. 130–1)
Canz. i (V. N. § 19) (*blank verse*) . . . . (pp. 131–3)
Epist. x . . . . . (pp. 390–406)
And sundry passages from the *Vita Nuova* [2]

William Warren Vernon *
(1834–1919)

1889. Purgatorio (in *Readings on the Purgatorio of Dante*, in *prose*)

* See also under 1894, 1897, 1900, 1906, 1907, 1909.

Matilde Porrini, Cinzia Biffi, Lia Fontana, Rosa Ronco, Maria Toscano, Ida Farini, Z. Gazola, Paolina Edlmann

1890. (In *Saggi Letterari delle Alunne del R. Instituto della SS. Annunziata*, pp. 89–99, in *prose*) [3]
Son. i (V. N. § 3)
Son. xi (V. N. § 21)
Son. xv (V. N. § 26)
Son. xvi (V. N. § 27)
Son. xxiv (V. N. § 41)
V. N. § 43, ll. 12–17
Purg. xxx. 28 ff. ('Apotheosis of Beatrice')
Par xxxi. 79–93 ('Thanksgiving and Prayer of Dante to Beatrice')

Rachel Harriette Busk

1890. Son. xv (V. N. § 26) (in *Notes and Queries*, Feb. 1, 1890, vol. ix, p. 82; *rhymed sonnet*)

[1] See T. W. Koch, *Catalogue of the Cornell Dante Collection*, vol. i, p 49.
[2] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, p. 84.
[3] See T. W. Koch, *Catalogue of the Cornell Dante Collection*, vol. i, pp. 50, 80.

Philip Schaff

1890. (In *Dante Alighieri*, in *Literature and Poetry*, pp. 279 ff.)
Epist. ix, ll. 30–40, 46–52 . . . . . (p. 308)
V. E. ii. 6, ll. 36–9 . . . . . (p. 323)

Mary Alice Vialls *

1890. Inf. xxvi. 94–142 ('The Last Voyage of Ulysses') (*terza rima*) (in *Journal of Education*, Oct. 1890)

* See also under 1899.

John Jay Chapman *

1890. Inf. iv (*terza rima*) (in *Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1890, vol. lxvi, pp. 647–51) [1]

* See also under 1898.

Alan George Ferrers Howell *

1890. De Vulgari Eloquentia ('On the Vulgar Tongue') [2]

* See also under 1904.

Anonymous

1891. Canz. iv. 20–6 (V. N. § 34) (*verse*) (in *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. xxxii, p. 359)

Herbert Baynes *

1891. (In *Dante and his Ideal*) (in *rhymed and blank verse*)
Par. iv. 124–132 . . . . . (p. 70)
Par. xxix. 85–7 . . . . . (p. 85)
Purg. xxxiii. 85–90 . . . . . (p. 86)
Inf. ii. 76–8 . . . . . (p. 89)
Purg. vi. 43–8 . . . . . (p. 90)
Purg. xxxiii. 115 . . . . . (p. 90)
Par. iv. 118–20 . . . . . (p. 90)
Conv. ii. 16, ll. 98–103 . . . . . (p. 91)
Purg. iii. 34–45 . . . . . (pp. 97–8)
Inf. vii. 91–6 . . . . . (p. 102)
Par. xxvi. 16–18, 28–30 . . . . . (p. 107)
Par. xxvii. 4–5 . . . . . (p. 108)

* See also under 1918.

Arthur John Butler *

1891. Paradiso ('The Paradise of Dante Alighieri') (*prose*) [3]

* See also under 1880, 1885, 1892, 1893, *c.* 1897.

[1] See T. W. Koch, *Catalogue of the Cornell Dante Collection*, vol. i, p. 45.
[2] First English translation.
[3] Second edition.

Charles Sterrett Latham
(d. 1890)

1891. Epistolae ('Dante's Eleven Letters')[1]

Charles Eliot Norton *

1891. Inferno ('The Divine Comedy—Hell') (*prose*)
Purgatorio ('The Divine Comedy—Purgatory') (*prose*)
1892. Paradiso ('The Divine Comedy—Paradise') (*prose*)
Vita Nuova ('The New Life') (*poems* in *rhymed verse*)
Canz. vi (Conv. ii) (in the above, pp. 108–10) (*unrhymed verse*)
Son. xxxii (*rhymed sonnet*) . . . . . (p. 145)
Son. xxix (*rhymed sonnet*) . . . . . (pp. 146–7)
Son. ('Un dì si venne a me Malinconia') (*rhymed sonnet*) . . . . . (p. 162)
And sundry passages from the *Convivio* and other prose works of Dante[2]

* See also under 1859, 1867, 1892, 1897, 1902.

Arthur John Butler *

1892. Inferno ('The Hell of Dante Alighieri') (*prose*)
Purgatorio ('The Purgatory of Dante Alighieri') (*prose*)[3]

* See also under 1880, 1885, 1891, 1893, *c.* 1897, 1910.

Charles Lancelot Shadwell *

1892. Purg. i–xxvii ('The Purgatory of Dante Alighieri—an Experiment in Literal Verse Translation') (in *Marvellian stanzas*)

* See also under 1882, 1899, 1907, 1909, 1915.

J. Reay Greene
(d. 1890)

1892. (In the notes to his edition of Carlyle's *Lectures on the History of Literature*, in *prose*)
Inf. iii. 85, 62–4, 34–51 . . . . . (pp. 237–8)
Inf. xx. 3 . . . . . (p. 238)
Par. xxvii. 3 . . . . . (p. 239)

Sir Theodore Martin *

1893. Vita Nuova and Lyrical Poems (third edition)

* See also under 1845, 1862, 1864, 1871, 1907.

[1] First English translation; besides the ten letters printed in the *Oxford Dante*, the letter in Italian, to Guido da Polenta, is included here.

[2] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, p. 86.

[3] Second edition.

Thomas William Parsons *

1893. Divina Commedia ('The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri')
Inf. i–xxxiv (in *rhymed quatrains*)
Purg. i–xxii, xxiv, xxv. 118–39, xxvi. 1–40, xxvii, xxviii. 34–110, xxx, xxxi. 1–90, xxxiii. 1–33, 65–135 (in *rhymed quatrains*)
Par. i. 1–36 (*irregular rhyme*), iii. 109–23, v. 73–8, xi. 43–84 (*rhymed quatrains*)

* See also under 1843, and note.

Sir Edward Sullivan
(1852–)

1893. Inferno ('The Comedy of Dante Alighieri—Hell')[1] (*prose*)

George Musgrave *

1893. Inferno ('Dante's Divine Comedy—Hell')[2] (*Spenserian stanzas*)

* See also under 1896.

Oliver Elton
(1861–)

1893. (In *Two Places in Dante*, in *Owen's College Magazine*, xxvi. Oct. 1893)
Inf. vii. 97–130 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (pp. 1–2)
Purg. xvii. 40–72 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (pp. 6–7)

Arthur John Butler *

1893. (In *A Companion to Dante*. From the German of G. A. Scartazzini)
Various passages from the prose works of Dante

* See also under 1880, 1885, 1891, 1892, 1893, *c.* 1897, 1910.

Basil Tempest

1893. Par. xvii. 46–72, 100–38 ('Cacciaguida's Prophecy of Dante's Banishment') (*terza rima*) (in the *Week*, Dec. 15, 1893, vol. xi, p. 58)[3]

Mrs. Lucia Duncan Pychowska

1893–4. (In New York *Seminary*, in *Dante and Catholic Philosophy in the Thirteenth Century*)
Conv. ii. 13; iv. 1, 6

William Warren Vernon *

1894. Inferno (in *Readings on the Inferno of Dante*, in *prose*)

* See also under 1889, 1897, 1900, 1906, 1907, 1909.

[1] No more was published. Another, cheaper edition was issued in 1895.
[2] No more was published. A large paper edition was issued later in this same year.
[3] See T. W. Koch, *Catalogue of the Cornell Dante Collection*, vol. i, p. 50.

Charles Tomlinson *

1894. (In *Dante, Beatrice, and the Divine Comedy*) [1]
Inf. v. 102 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 28)
Purg. ii. 106–19 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (p. 41)
Canz. i (Conv. ii), ll. 18–27 (*rhymed verse*) . . . (p. 57)
Purg. ii. 79–81, 114–17 (*terza rima*) and sundry prose passages from the *Vita Nuova* and *Convivio* . . . . . (pp. 78–9)

* See also under 1874, 1877, 1882, 1898.

Louise Imogen Guiney *

1895. (In the *Critic*, Aug. 10, 1895, vol. xxvii, p. 92)
Son. xx (V. N. § 37) (*rhymed sonnet*)

* See also under 1887.

L. Schram

1895. (In *Theosophical Analogies in the Divina Commedia*) (in *blank verse*)
Par. xiii. 52–4 . . . . . (p. 6)
Inf. xx. 21–2, 27–30 . . . . . (p. 12)
Purg. xxii. 67–9; Inf. iv. 31–45; Purg. vii. 25–7 . . (p. 13)
Par. xix. 106–9 . . . . . (p. 14)
Purg. iii. 118–28 . . . . . (pp. 15–16)
Purg. ix. 13–18; Inf. xxvi. 7 . . . . . (p. 18)
Purg. xxi. 133–6 . . . . . (p. 19)
Par. iv. 1–142 . . . . . (pp. 40–5)

R. Urquhart

1895. Inferno ('The *Inferno* of Dante: translated in the *terza rima* of the original') [2]

Charles Stuart Boswell

1895. Vita Nuova (*poems* in *prose*)
Par. xv. 35–6 (*prose*) . . . . . (in *Notes*, p. 206)
Purg. ii. 11–12, 132; xxx. 34–9, 46–8 (*prose*) . . . (p. 212)
Purg. xxiv. 52–4 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 213)
Purg. xxv. 64–5; xviii. 19–26; xxxi. 116–17 (*prose*) (pp. 216–17)
Son. xxxii (*rhymed sonnet*) . . . . . (pp. 218–19)
Par. xxxi. 103–8 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 226)
And two or three passages from the *Convivio* and *De Vulgari Eloquentia*

[1] Translations from the *Inferno* and from the *Canzoniere*, which had already appeared in the author's *Vision of Hell*, and *The Sonnet*, are not registered here.
[2] Privately printed.

George Musgrave *

1896. Inferno ('Dante's Divine Comedy—Hell')[1] (*Spenserian stanzas*)

* See also under 1893.

Maurice Henry Hewlett

(1861–)

1896. Inf. v. 121–3 (*rhymed quatrain*) (in *Songs and Meditations*, p. 62)

John Anster

1896. Par. xxxi. 1–111 (*terza rima*) (in the Dublin *Hermathena*, No. xxii, pp. 408–11)[2]

Richard Garnett

(1835–1906)

1896. (In *Dante, Petrarch, Camoens: cxxiv Sonnets—rhymed sonnets*)

Son. i (V. N. § 3)[3] . . . . . (p. 5)
Son. xxxii . . . . . (p. 6)
Son. v (V. N. § 9) . . . . . (p. 7)
Son. ix (V. N. § 16) . . . . . (p. 8)
Son. x (V. N. § 20) . . . . . (p. 9)
Son. li . . . . . (p. 10)
Son. xiv (V. N. § 24) . . . . . (p. 11)
Son. xv (V. N. § 26) . . . . . (p. 12)
Son. xvi (V. N. § 27) . . . . . (p. 13)
Son. xl . . . . . (p. 14)
Son. xxvii . . . . . (p. 15)
Son. xviii (V. N. § 35) . . . . . (p. 16)
Son. xix (V. N. § 36) . . . . . (p. 17)
Son. xxi (V. N. § 38) . . . . . (p. 18)
Son. xxii (V. N. § 39) . . . . . (p. 19)
Son. xxiv (V. N. § 41) . . . . . (p. 20)
Son. xxv (V. N. § 42) . . . . . (p. 21)
Son. xlix . . . . . (p. 22)
Son. xliv . . . . . (p. 23)
Son. xxx . . . . . (p. 24)

John Swinnerton Phillimore

(1873–)

1896. Son. xv (V. N. § 26) (*rhymed sonnet*) (in *Oxford Magazine*, vol. xv, p. 32, Oct. 28, 1896)

[1] A new edition, 'considerably revised' (and with the addition of two diagrams), of the translation which appeared in 1893.

[2] See T. W. Koch, *Catalogue of the Cornell Dante Collection*, vol. ii, p. 505.

[3] The numbering is that of the *Oxford Dante*.

Caroline C. Potter *

1896. (In *Cantos from the Divina Commedia of Dante*, in *rhymed quatrains*)

Par. xxv. 1–12 . . . . . (p. 5)
Inf. i, iv, v . . . . . (pp. 9–30)
Purg. i–iii, xxvii–xxxiii . . . . . (pp. 33–110)
Par. ii, vii, xxxiii. 94–145 . . . . . (pp. 113–128)

* See also under 1897, 1904.

Philip Henry Wicksteed *

1896. De Monarchia [1]

* See also under 1879, 1898, 1899, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1906.

Charles Eliot Norton *

1897. Conv. ii. 13 ('The Consolation of Philosophy'), iv. 12 ('The Desire of the Soul'), iv. 28 ('The Noble Soul at the End of Life') (in C. D. Warner's *Library of the World's Best Literature*. pp. 4356–8)

* See also under 1859, 1867, 1891, 1892, 1902.

William Warren Vernon *

1897. Purgatorio (in *Readings on the Purgatorio of Dante*, in *prose*) [2]

* See also under 1889, 1894, 1900, 1906, 1907, 1909.

Gerald Molloy

(1834–1906)

1897. (In *Extracts from the Divina Commedia of Dante, being the passages illustrated by the Drawings of Botticelli, with a translation in Blank Verse. A Fragment*) [3]

Purg. i. 31–6, 49–51, 124–33; ii. 40–5 . . . . (p. i)
Purg. ii. 27–30, 49–51, 76–81, 118–23 . . . . (p. ii)
Purg. iii. 4–6, 46–8, 58–60, 88–93 . . . . . (p. iii)
Purg. iv. 15–24, 31–3, 43–8, 52–4, 103–11 . . . . (p. iv)
Purg. v. 1–6, 22–33, 37–45 . . . . . (p. v)
Purg. vi. 4–12, 25–33, 67–75 . . . . . (p. vi)
Purg. vii. 10–15, 52–4, 67–9, 85–90 . . . . . (p. vii)
Purg. viii. 7–15, 25–7, 31–3, 43–5, 94–102 . . . (p. viii)
Purg. ix. 7–12, 19–21, 28–30, 67–9, 73–8, 82–4, 109–14 . (p. ix)

[1] Privately printed.

[2] Second edition revised.

[3] Anonymous; printed at the Dublin University Press (4 + xxiv pp. 4to). I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Thomas W. Lyster, Librarian of the National Library of Ireland, for the list of passages translated, there being no copy of the work in the British Museum.

Gerald Molloy (*continued*)

1897. Purg. x. 7–9, 34–5, 49–57, 64–6, 73–6, 130–9 ; xi. 73–81 ; xii. 1–3 . . . . . (pp. x–xi)
Purg. xii. 25–42, 58–61, 64–9, 73–81, 88–93, 97–9, 133–6 . . . . . (pp. xii–xiii)
Purg. xiii. 1–3, 13–15, 34, 43–5, 58–60, 67–72, 79–84 . (p. xiv)
Purg. xiv. 7–9, 127–41 . . . . . (p. xv)
Purg. xv. 7–15, 25–30, 34–6, 82–7 . . . . . (p. xvi)
Purg. xvi. 10–30 . . . . . (p. xvii)
Purg. xvii. 46–51, 64–9, 76–8 . . . . . (p. xviii)
Purg. xviii. 1–9, 88–90, 97–9, 112–17, 130–2 . . . (p. xix)
Purg. xix. 34–48, 70–5, 88–90, 97–9, 127–35 . . (pp. xx–xxi)
Purg. xx. 4–6, 16–18, 49–52, 139–44 . . . . (pp. xxii)
Purg. xxi. 7–15, 67–72, 130–2 . . . . . (p. xxiii)
Purg. xxii. 7–9, 127–35 . . . . . (p. xxiv)

Marvin H. Vincent *

1897. (In *The Age of Hildebrand*)
Par. xxvii. 22–30 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 422)

* See also under 1904.

Arthur John Butler *

c. 1897. Convito i [1]

* See also under 1880, 1885, 1891, 1898, 1910

Caroline C. Potter *

1897. (In *Twenty-five Cantos from the Divina Commedia of Dante*, in *rhymed quatrains*) [2]
Inf. i, iv, v . . . . . (pp. 3–21)
Purg. i–iii, xxvii–xxxiii . . . . . (pp. 25–90)
Par. i, ii, vii, xxii–xxvi, xxviii–xxxi, xxxiii. 94–145 (pp. 109–82)

* See also under 1896, 1904.

Charles Hamilton Bromby
(d. 1905)

1897. Quaestio de Aqua et Terra ('A Question of the Water and of the Land') [3]

Wickham Flower
(d. 1904)

1897. (In *Dante, A Defence of the Ancient Text of the Divina Commedia*)
Inf. xxviii. 135 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 2)
Inf. xxviii. 112–42 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (pp. 7–8)

[1] Not printed ; MS in possession of Mrs. Butler.

[2] 'New and enlarged edition' of *Cantos from the Divina Commedia of Dante* (1896).

[3] First English translation.

Edward Henry Pember *
(1833–1911)

1897. (In *Adrastus of Phrygia and Other Poems*)[1]
Par. xv (*blank verse*) . . . . . (pp. 113–20)

* See also under 1899, 1901, 1903.

Frederick William Farrar
(1831–1903)

1898. (In *Great Books*)
Sundry passages in prose and verse from the *Divina Commedia*

Philip Henry Wicksteed *

1898. (In *A Provisional Translation of the Early Lives of Dante and of his Poetical Correspondence with Giovanni del Virgilio*)[1]
Eclogae (*prose*) . . . . . (pp. 101–4, 108–12)

1898. (In *A Provisional Translation of Dante's Political Letters*)[1]
Epist. v . . . . . (pp. 5–9)
Epist. vi . . . . . (pp. 10–15)
Epist. vii . . . . . (pp. 16–21)
Epist. viii . . . . . (pp. 22–8)
Epist. ix . . . . . (pp. 29–30)
Conv. iv. 4–5 . . . . . (pp. 33–41)

1898. (In *Essays on Dante, by Dr. Karl Witte*)
Numerous passages (in *prose*) from the *Divina Commedia* and *Canzoniere*, and from the prose works of Dante

* See also under 1879, 1896, 1899, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1906.

John Jay Chapman *

1898. Inf. iv (in *Emerson and Other Essays*, pp. 171–81) (*terza rima*)[2]

* See also under 1890.

Constance Blount
(d. 1919)

1898. (In *Some Similes from the Paradiso of Dante Alighieri*)
Numerous passages, freely rendered in *prose*, from the *Paradiso*[3]

Edmund Garratt Gardner

1898. (In *Dante's Ten Heavens: A Study of the Paradiso*)
Sundry passages from the *Paradiso* (in *prose*), the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, *Epistles*, and *Eclogues* (in *prose*)

[1] Privately printed.

[2] Revised reprint of the version published in *Atlantic Monthly*, November, 1890. See T. W. Koch, *Catalogue of the Cornell Dante Collection*, vol. ii, p. 505.

[3] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, pp. 92-3.

Sir Samuel Walker Griffith *

(1845–1920)

1898. (In *Two Stories from Dante, literally translated in the Original Metre*)
Inf. v. 31–3, 73–142 ('The Story of Francesca')
Inf. xxxii. 22–4, 31–9, 124–39; xxxiii. 1–75 ('The Story of Ugolino')

* See also under 1903, 1908, 1911, 1914.

Catherine Mary Phillimore

1898. (In *Dante at Ravenna*)
Inf. xxvii. 40 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 16)
Ecl. i. 1–10, 42–4, 48–68 (*heroic couplets*) . . (pp. 101–4)
Ecl. ii. 9–17, 46–57, 70–97 (*heroic couplets*) . . (pp. 107–10)
Par. xxi. 121–3 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 128)
And sundry passages from the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* and *Epistles*

Eugene Lee-Hamilton

1898. Inferno ('The Inferno of Dante') (*hendecasyllabic blank verse*)[1]

Anonymous: C. T.[2]

1898. (In *The Angels of the Divine Comedy*, in *Gentleman's Magazine*, Sept. 1898, pp. 242–55)
Sundry passages from the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio*, in *blank verse* and *prose*[3]

William Clark *

1898. (In *Dante and his Age*)[4]
Son. i (V. N. § 3)
Ball. i (V. N. § 12), ll. 5–14
Canz. i (V. N. § 19), ll. 16–43
Canz. ii (V. N. § 23), ll. 56–83
Canz. iii (V. N. § 32), ll. 15–28, 57–70

* See also under 1899.

Daniel Robert Fearon

(1835–)

1898. (In *Dante and Paganism*, in *Nineteenth Century*, No. 252, February, 1898, pp. 301–11, in *prose*)
Inf. iv. 52–5, 61; i. 118–20 . . . . . (p. 304)
Purg. i. 85–90, 73–5 . . . . . (p. 305)
Inf. vii. 61–3, 68–9, 73–96 . . . . . (p. 310)

[1] A translation of the *Purgatorio* was left unfinished at his death.

[2] Probably Charles Tomlinson, who died in the previous year (1897)—see under 1874.

[3] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, pp. 110–11.

[4] See T. W. Koch, *Catalogue of the Cornell Dante Collection*, vol. i, p. 187.

1899. (In *Dante's Ghosts*, in *Nineteenth Century*, No. 269, July, 1899, pp. 65–76, in *prose*)
Purg. xxv. 68–75, 79–86; V. E. ii. 2, ll. 47–55 . . (p. 67)
Purg. xxv. 88–108 . . . . . (p. 68)
Purg. xxi. 28–30 . . . . . (p. 73)

Charles Lancelot Shadwell *

1899. Purg. xxviii–xxxiii ('The Purgatory of Dante Alighieri, Part ii, the Earthly Paradise—an Experiment in Literal Verse Translation') (*Marvellian stanzas*) [1]

* See also under 1882, 1892, 1907, 1909, 1915.

Samuel Home *

(1842–)

1899. Purg. i–xvi ('The Purgatory of Dante. A New Translation in the Original Rhythm', Part i) (*eleven-syllabled unrhymed triplets*)

* See also under 1901.

Mary Alice Vialls *

1899. (In *Music Fancies and Other Verses*—in *terza rima*)
Inf. xxxiii. 22–75 ('The Death of Count Ugolino and his Sons') . . . . . (pp. 93–6)
Purg. xxx. 22–75 ('The Meeting of Dante and Beatrice in the Terrestrial Paradise') . . . (pp. 97–100)
Par. xi. 43–117 ('St. Francis of Assisi') . . . (pp. 101–6)
Par. xxxiii. 1–39 ('St. Bernard's Invocation to Madonna') . . . . . (pp. 107–9)

* See also under 1890.

Edward Moore *

(1835–1916)

1899. (In *Studies in Dante. Second Series*)
Sundry passages from the *Divina Commedia* (in *prose*) and prose works

* See also under 1903, 1916.

William Clark *

1899. (In *Dante's Divine Comedy*, in *Canadian Magazine*, xiii, 111–16, 204–9, 337–42) [2]
Selected passages from the *Divina Commedia* (in *verse*)

* See also under 1898.

[1] The first part was issued in 1892.

[2] See *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, p. 36.

Arthur Compton Auchmuty

1899. Purgatorio ('Purgatory. A Translation from Dante') (*octosyllabic terza rima*)

Frederick Kneller Haselfoot Haselfoot *

1899. Divina Commedia ('The Divina Commedia of Dante Alighieri. Translated line for line in the terza rima of the original')[1]

* See also under 1887.

Philip Henry Wicksteed *

1899. Paradiso (*prose*)

* See also under 1879, 1896, 1898, 1902, 1903, 1904, 1906.

Edward Henry Pember *

1899. (In *The Death-Song of Thamyris and Other Poems*)[2]
Purg. viii (*blank verse*) (pp. 91–7)

* See also under 1897, 1901, 1903.

Frederick John Snell

1899. (In *The Fourteenth Century*)
Son. xxxii (*rhymed sonnet*) . . . . . (p. 131)
Canz. vi. 53–61 (*rhymed verse*) . . . . . (p. 196)
And sundry passages (in *prose*) from the *Divina Commedia* and prose works of Dante[3]

Epiphanius Wilson *

1899. (In *Dante Interpreted*, in *Spenserian stanzas*)

Inf. xix. 115–17	(p. 2)
Par. xv. 97–135	(pp. 7–9)
Purg. xiv. 16–53	(pp. 12–13)
Inf. xxix. 121–2; xxiv. 122–6; xxv. 10–22	(p. 14)
Inf. xxi. 37–40	(p. 15)
Son. xv (V. N. § 26), ll. 1–3 (*rhyme*)	(p. 23)
Inf. xxii. 1–8	(p. 26)
Purg. v. 88–129	(pp. 27–9)
Par. xvii. 55–75	(pp. 34–5)
Inf. xxx. 64–9	(pp. 37–8)
Par. iii. 67–87	(pp. 50–1)
Inf. i. 79–87	(p. 55)
Inf. vi. 13–21	(p. 56)
Inf. xii. 5–9	(p. 58)

* See also under 1901.

[1] Second edition 'revised and corrected'.

[2] Privately printed.

[3] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, p. 95.

1899. Inf. xiii. 4–6; Purg. v. 133–7; Inf. xviii. 2 . . . (p. 59)
Inf. xxi. 7–18; xxix. 40–51; xxxi. 28–45 . . . (pp. 60–2)
Inf. xxxi. 136–9; Purg. i. 115–17 . . . . . (p. 63)
Purg. viii. 1–6 . . . . . (p. 64)
Purg. xxviii. 1–36 . . . . . (pp. 65–6)
Par. ii. 31–3 . . . . . (p. 75)
Inf. i. 112–23 . . . . . (p. 79)
Inf. ii. 127–42 . . . . . (p. 80)
Inf. iii. 1–9 . . . . . (p. 81)
Inf. iii. 112–18, 133–6 . . . . . (p. 83)
Inf. iv. 31–42, 106–20; v. 28–36 . . . . (pp. 84–5)
Inf. v. 100–42; vi. 49–57 . . . . . (pp. 86–8)
Inf. vii. 121–6 . . . . . (p. 89)
Inf. ix. 109–23; x. 34–5 . . . . . (p. 90)
Inf. x. 91–3; xiv. 13–30; xviii. 1–18 . . . (pp. 91–2)
Inf. xxxii. 16–37, 125–39; xxxiii. 1–87; xxxiv. 127–39 . . . . . (pp. 93–100)
Purg. i. 5–6, 13–25 . . . . . (pp. 110–11)
Purg. i. 31–9, 94–108 . . . . . (pp. 114–15)
Purg. ii. 106–14, 124–33 . . . . . (pp. 116–17)
Purg. iii. 107–8, 118–37 . . . . . (pp. 117–18)
Purg. viii. 22–30, 97–108 . . . . . (pp. 120–1)
Purg. ix. 77, 95–9, 101–2, 143–5 . . . . (pp. 122–3)
Purg. x. 121–39; xi. 88, 91–2 . . . . . (p. 124)
Purg. xii. 110–14 (*prose*); xiii. 1–6, 58–72, 106–29 (pp. 125–7)
Purg. xvi. 1–24; xix. 73–5, 106, 112–14 (*prose*), 115–26; xxi. 58–60 . . . . . (pp. 128–30)
Purg. xxii. 64–72, 73–93; xxiii. 22–36 . . . (pp. 131–3)
Purg. xxiii. 67–75, 85–93 . . . . . (p. 134)
Purg. xxiv. 103–11; xxvii. 10–46; xxviii. 118–44 . (pp. 135–8)
Purg. xxx. 22–48, 49–51, 115–45 . . . . (pp. 139–41)
Inf. iv. 131, 134–5 . . . . . (p. 149)
Par. ii. 112–38 . . . . . (pp. 153–4)
Par. i. 135–42; ii. 28–45, 56 . . . . . (pp. 156–7)
Par. iii. 103–8; iii. 64–87 (*prose*) . . . . (pp. 159–60)
Par. iv. 43–8, 109–11 . . . . . (p. 161)
Par. v. 85–96, 103–5, 127–39 . . . . . (pp. 162–3)
Par. vi. 112–14; vii. 7–9 (*prose*), 142–8 . . . (pp. 164–5)
Par. viii. 13–15 . . . . . (p. 166)
Par. ix. 23–4, 31–3 (*prose*), 127–32; x. 40 8, 130–48 . . . . . (pp. 167–70)
Par. xi. 64–117 . . . . . (pp. 170–2)
Par. xii. 46–66, 97–105 . . . . . (pp. 173–4)
Par. xiv. 103–29 . . . . . (p. 175)
Par. xvii. 124–35; xviii. 5–21, 100–8 . . . (pp. 176–8)

Epiphanius Wilson (*continued*)

1899. Par. xxi. 25–42, 91–9; xxii. 124–54 . . . . (pp. 179–81)
Par. xxi. 106–19 . . . . . (p. 182)
Par. xxx. 61–9; xxxi. 1–30, 79–93; xxxiii. 115–32 . (pp. 183–6)
Par. xxxii. 140–1 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 191)
Par. xxxi. 85–7 . . . . . (p. 194)

Century XX

Paget Toynbee *

(1855–)

1900. (In *Life of Dante*)
Sundry passages (in *prose*) from the *Divina Commedia*, and from the *Convivio* and *Epistles*

* See also under 1907, 1910, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1920.

William Warren Vernon *

1900. Paradiso (in *Readings on the Paradiso of Dante*, in *prose*)

* See also under 1889, 1894, 1897, 1906, 1907, 1909.

Alfred Austin

(1835–1912)

1900. (In *Dante's Realistic Treatment of the Ideal*, reprinted from *National Review*, in *London Dante Society Lectures*, in *blank verse*)
Purg. ii. 76–81, 106–11, 112–17, 124–32 . . . (pp. 18–21)[1]
Inf. i. 136 . . . . . (p. 26)
Inf. v. 31, 43–4, 97–9, 139–42, 103–5 . . . (pp. 27–31)
Purg. xxx. 32–3, 48, 56–7, 78, 73, 126 . . . (pp. 32–3)
Par. xxxiii. 145 . . . . . (p. 36)

J. L. Bevis

1900. (In *Colours in Dante*, in *Scottish Review*, April, 1900, vol. xxxv, pp. 325–36)
Sundry passages (in *prose*) from the *Divina Commedia*[2]

George Edward Bateman Saintsbury

(1845–)

1900. De Vulgari Eloquentia (various passages, partly translated, partly paraphrased, in *History of Criticism*, vol. i, pp. 419–43)

[1] Page references are to the reprint.

[2] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, p. 111.

Sir Edward Fry

(1827–)

1900. (In *The Banquet of Dante*, in *Studies by the Way*)
Sundry passages from the *Convivio*[1]

A. N. Peaselee

1900. Canz. vi, vii, viii (Conv. ii, iii, iv) (*verse*)[2]

Lewis Campbell

(1830–1908)

c. 1900. (In *Memorials in Verse and Prose of Lewis Campbell*[3])
Son. xi (V. N. § 21) (*rhymed sonnet*) . . . . (p. 25)

H. L. Seaver

1901. Canz. vi, vii, viii (Conv. ii, iii, iv) (*verse*)[2]

Richard James Cross

1901. (In *Selections from Dante's Divina Commedia*)
Numerous passages (in *prose*) from the *Divina Commedia*[4]

Epiphanius Wilson *

1901. (In *Dante Calendar*)[5]
Sundry passages from the *Divina Commedia* and *Vita Nuova*[6]

* See also under 1899.

John Carpenter Garnier

1901. Inferno ('Dante's Divina Commedia. The Inferno. A Literal Prose Translation')[7]

[1] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge* (*U.S.A.*) *Dante Society*, p. 98.

[2] Not published. See *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Cambridge* (*U.S.A.*) *Dante Society*, p. 9.

[3] Privately printed, 1914.

[4] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge* (*U.S.A.*) *Dante Society*, pp. 99–101.

[5] See *Twenty-third Annual Report of the Cambridge* (*U.S.A.*) *Dante Society*, p. 40 The list of passages was kindly supplied by Mr. William Coolidge Lane, Librarian of the Society.

[6] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge* (*U.S.A.*) *Dante Society*, p. 101.

[7] Privately printed—no more has appeared.

Samuel Home *

1901. Purg. i-xxxi ('The Purgatory of Dante. A New Translation in the Rhythm of the Original')[1] (*hendecasyllabic unrhymed triplets*)

* See also under 1899.

Edward Henry Pember *

1901. (In *The Finding of Pheidippides and other Poems*)[2]
Inf. i-iv (*blank verse*) . . . . . (pp. 100-29)

* See also under 1897, 1899, 1903.

Henry Fanshawe Tozer *

1901. (In *An English Commentary on Dante's Divina Commedia*)
Numerous passages (in *prose*) from the *Divina Commedia*

* See also under 1904.

John Churton Collins
(1848–1908)

1901. Inf. xxvi. 94–102, 106–20, 127–9 (*prose*) (in *The Early Poems of Lord Tennyson*) . . . . . (p. 195)

Thomas Okey *

1901. Purgatorio (*prose*)

* See also under 1906.

Thomas Hodgkin
(1831–1913)

1901. (In *Charles Martel*, in *London Dante Society Lectures*, in *blank verse*)
Par. vi. 133 . . . . . (p. 121)
Par. xix. 127–9 . . . . . (p. 137)

Katherine Reed

1902. (In *Paolo and Francesca: A translation by Leigh Hunt . . . with the Italian . . . and a literal translation newly made for this edition by Katherine Reed*, Chicago, 1902)
Inf. v. 70–142 (*prose*)

[1] The translation of *Purg.* i-xvi was issued in 1899.
[2] Privately printed.

Karl Federn

1902. (In *Dante and his Time*)[1]
Sundry passages from the *Divina Commedia* (in *blank verse* and *prose*), and from the *Convivio*[2]

Frances de Meÿ

1902. Vita Nuova (*poems* in *rhymed verse*)

Charles Eliot Norton *

1902. Divina Commedia ('The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri') (*prose*)[3]

* See also under 1859, 1867, 1891, 1892, 1897.

Philip Henry Wicksteed *

1902. (In *Dante and Giovanni del Virgilio*)
Ecl. i (*prose*) . . . . . (pp. 153–7)
Ecl. ii (*prose*) . . . . . (pp. 167–73)
And sundry passages from the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, *Epistles*, and *Quaestio de Aqua et Terra*

* See also under 1879, 1896, 1898, 1899, 1903, 1904, 1906.

L. V. Hodgkin

1902. (In *The Happy World. Notes on the Mystic Imagery of the Paradiso of Dante*)
Par. xxvii. 100–2 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (p. 37)
Par. xxxiii. 46–51 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (p. 59)
And sundry passages from the *Divina Commedia* (in *blank verse* and *prose*), and from the *Vita Nuova* and *Convivio*[4]

Edward Clarke Lowe *
(1823–1906)

1902. Divina Commedia ('La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri. Englished by, and privately printed for, E. C. L.') (*blank verse*)[5]

* See also under 1904.

George Noble Plunkett
(1851–)

1902. Son. xxii (V. N. § 39) (*rhymed sonnet*)[6]

[1] Translated by the author from the German.

[2] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, p. 102.

[3] 'Revised edition' of the translation issued in 1891–2.

[4] For details, see *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, p. 103.

[5] Published in 1904.

[6] Not published; sent to Professor Edward Dowden, October 9, 1902.

Edmund Doidge Anderson Morshead *

1903. Ecl. i, ll. 27–44 ('Dante's Refusal') (*rhymed couplets*) (in *Oxford Magazine*, vol. xxi, p. 113)

* See also under 1875, 1884, 1885, 1904.

Luigi Ricci

1903. Vita Nuova (*poems* in *rhymed verse*)

Alain Campbell White

1903. Quaestio de Aqua et Terra (in *Twenty-first Annual Report of the Cambridge, U.S.A., Dante Society*)

Edward Wilberforce *

1903. Inferno (*terza rima*) (in *Dante's Inferno and Other Translations*)

* See also under 1909.

Sir Samuel Walker Griffith *

1903. Inferno (*hendecasyllabic blank verse*) ('Draft of a Literal Translation of Dante's Inferno in the Original Metre') [1]

* See also under 1898, 1908, 1911, 1914.

Philip Henry Wicksteed *

1903. Convivio (*canzoni* in *prose*; together with the following poems in *prose*)

Ball. x	(pp. 190–1)
Canz. ix	(pp. 388–90)
Canz. xiv	(pp. 390–3)
Canz. xii	(pp. 394–6)
Sest. i	(pp. 396–7)
Sest. ii	(pp. 398–9)
Canz. xv	(pp. 400–2)
Canz. xiii	(pp. 402–4)
Canz. xix	(pp. 404–8)
Canz. xvi	(pp. 408–10)
Canz. xx	(pp. 410–12)
Canz. x	(pp. 412–16)
Canz. xi	(pp. 417–19)
Son. xliii	(p. 433)

* See also under 1879, 1896, 1898, 1809, 1902, 1904, 1906.

[1] Privately printed; published in 1908.

L. O. Kuhns

1903. (In *The Great Poets of Italy*, Boston, 1903)
Son. xv (V. N. § 26) (*rhymed sonnet*) . . . . (pp. 47–8)
Son. xxiv (V. N. § 41) (*rhymed sonnet*) . . . . (pp. 51–2)

Edward Henry Pember *

1903. Purg. xxviii–xxxiii ('The Earthly Paradise') (*blank verse*) [1]

* See also under 1897, 1899, 1901.

Francis Charles Montague

(1858–)

1903. (In his edition of *Macaulay's Essays*)
Sundry passages from the *Divina Commedia* (in *prose*)

Henry F. Henderson

1903. (In *The Dream of Dante: An Interpretation of the Inferno*)
Sundry passages from the *Inferno* (in *prose*), the *Vita Nuova*, and *Epistles*

Arthur Woollgar Verrall *

(1851–1912)

1903. ('To Follow the Fisherman': a Historical Problem in Dante—in *prose*, in *Independent Review*, Nov., reprinted in *Literary Essays Classical and Modern*, Cambridge, 1913)
Purg. xxii. 55–63 . . . . . (*Essays*, p. 159)
Inf. i. 124–5 . . . . . (p. 160)
Par. xxv. 10–12 . . . . . (p. 169)
Par. ix. 139–41 . . . . . (p. 170)
Par. xxiv. 62–3 . . . . . (p. 171)
Purg. xxii. 90–1 . . . . . (p. 174)
Purg. xxii. 88–9 . . . . . (p. 175)

* See also under 1907, 1908.

Edward Moore *

1903. (In *Studies in Dante. Third Series*)
Sundry passages from the *Divina Commedia* (in *prose*) and prose works

* See also under 1899, 1916.

Edmund Doidge Anderson Morshead *

1904. Purg. xxii. 55–112 ('Virgil and Statius') (*Spenserian stanzas*) (in *Oxford Magazine*, March 2, 1904, vol. xxii, p. 240)

* See also under 1875, 1884, 1885, 1903.

[1] Not published.

Caroline Potter *

1904. (In *The Purgatorio and the Paradiso of the Divina Commedia of Dante*, in *rhymed quatrains*)

Inf. i, iv, v . . . . . (p. 3–21)
Purg. i–xxxiii . . . . . (pp. 25–264)
Par. i–xxxiii . . . . . (pp. 267–519)
Son. vi (V. N. § 13) (*rhymed sonnet*) . . . (pp. 400–1)

* See also under 1896, 1897.

Edward Clarke Lowe *

1904. Divina Commedia ('La Divina Commedia di Dante Alighieri, Done into English') (*blank verse*) [1]

* See also under 1902.

Henry Fanshawe Tozer *

1904. Divina Commedia ('Dante's Divina Commedia, translated into English Prose')

* See also under 1901.

Alan George Ferrers Howell *

1904. De Vulgari Eloquentia (in *Translation of the Latin Works of Dante Alighieri*, in *Temple Classics*, pp. 3–115) [2]

* See also under 1890.

Aurelia Henry

1904. De Monarchia

Anonymous: J. A. [i. e. James Anstie]

1904. (In *English Echoes—Horace, Petrarch, Dante*—in *rhymed verse*)

Son. x ('Amore e 'l cor gentil') . . . . . (p. 111)
Son. xxxvi ('Io sono stato con Amore'). . . (pp. 111–12)
Son. xxxiv ('Io mi credea') . . . . . (p. 112)
Ball. vi ('Io mi son pargoletta') . . . . . (p. 113)
Ball. v ('In abito di saggia messaggiera') . . . (p. 114)
Canz. xv ('Io son venuto al punto') . . . (pp. 114–17)
Canz. ix ('Amor, che muovi') . . . . (pp. 117–19)
Canz. xx ('Tre donne intorno al cor') . . . (pp. 120–3)
Son. xlix ('Se vedi gli occhi miei') . . . (pp. 123–4)
Par. xxxiii. 46–145 (*octosyllabic nine-lined stanzas*) (pp. 124–7)

Philip Henry Wicksteed *

1904. (In *Translation of the Latin Works of Dante Alighieri*, in *Temple Classics*)

* See also under 1879, 1896, 1898, 1899, 1902, 1903, 1906.

[1] Revised edition of the translation privately printed in 1902.
[2] Revised edition of the version published in 1890.

1904. De Monarchia[1] . . . . . (pp. 127–279)
Epistolae . . . . . (pp. 295–362)
Eclogae (*blank verse*) . . . . . (pp. 373–84)
Quaestio de Aqua et Terra . . . . . (pp. 389–423)

Marvin H. Vincent *

1904. Inferno ('The Divine Comedy of Dante. The Inferno: A Translation and Commentary') (*blank verse*)

* See also under 1897.

James Williams *
(1851–1911)

1904. (In *Thoughts on Dante*—in *terza rima*)
Inf. v. 70–142 . . . . . (pp. 6–8)
Par. xxx. 61–9 . . . . . (p. 17)
Purg. xxviii. 22–39 . . . . . (p. 18)

* See also under 1906.

S. P. Thompson

1905. Quaestio de Aqua et Terra[2]

Christopher Hare

1905. (In *Dante the Wayfarer*)
Numerous passages from the *Divina Commedia* (in *prose*)

Hamilton S. Verschoyle

1905. (In *Dante's Quest of Liberty*, in *Hermathena*, vol. xiii, pp. 185 ff.)
Numerous passages from the *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* (in *prose*)

C. Gordon Wright *

1905. Purgatorio (*prose*)[3]

* See also under 1908.

Charles Eliot Norton *

1906. Sonnets from the Vita Nuova[4]

* See also under 1859, 1867, 1891, 1892, 1897, 1902.

William Warren Vernon *

1906. Inferno (in *Readings on the Inferno of Dante*, in *prose*)[5]

* See also under 1889, 1894, 1897, 1900, 1907, 1909.

[1] Revised edition of the version privately printed in 1896.

[2] Published at Florence in volume containing facsimile reprint of the *editio princeps* together with translations in Italian, French, Spanish, and German.

[3] In 'Spenserian' English.

[4] Privately printed—see *Twenty seventh Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society*, p. 6.

[5] Second edition revised.

James Williams *

1906. Par. vi. 1–27 (*terza rima*) (in *Dante as a Jurist*, pp. 13–14)

* See also under 1904.

Arthur K. Sabin

1906. Purg. xxviii (*terza rima*) (in *The Death of Icarus and Other Poems*, pp. 113–19)

Thomas Okey *

1906. Vita Nuova (*poems* in *prose*)

* See also under 1901.

Philip Henry Wicksteed *

1906. Canzoniere (*prose*) (in *Translation of the Vita Nuova*[1] *and Canzoniere of Dante Alighieri*)

Son. xxvi (i)[2] . . . . . (p. 157)
Son. xxvii (ii) . . . . . (p. 159)
Son. 'Degno fa vui' (iii) . . . . . (p. 159)
Son. xxix (iv) . . . . . (p. 161)
Son. xxxi (v) . . . . . (p. 161)
Son. xxxii (vi) . . . . . (p. 163)
Son. xxxiv (vii) . . . . . (p. 163)
Son. xxxvi (viii) . . . . . (p. 165)
Son. xl (ix) . . . . . (p. 165)
Son. xliii (x) . . . . . (p. 167)
Son. xliv (xi) . . . . . (p. 167)
Son. xlvi (xii) . . . . . (p. 169)
Son. 'Suonar bracchetti' (xiii) . . . . . (p. 169)
Ball. ii (i) . . . . . (p. 171)
Ball. vi (ii) . . . . . (pp. 171–3)
Ball. viii (iii) . . . . . (pp. 173–5)
Ball. x (iv) . . . . . (pp. 175–7)
Sest. i (Canz. i) . . . . . (pp. 179–81)
Canz. ix (ii) . . . . . (pp. 183–7)
Canz. vii (iii) . . . . . (pp. 189–97)
Canz. xi (iv) . . . . . (pp. 199–205)
Sest. ii (Canz. v) . . . . . (pp. 207–11)
Canz. xii (vi) . . . . . (pp. 213–19)
Canz. x (vii) . . . . . (pp. 221–33)
Canz. xiii (viii) . . . . . (pp. 235–41)

* See also under 1879, 1896, 1898, 1899, 1902, 1903, 1904.

[1] The *Vita Nuova* is translated by T. Okey, the *Canzoniere* by P. H. Wicksteed.

[2] The numbering of the poems is that of the *Oxford Dante*; the translator's numbering is given in brackets.

1906. Canz. xiv (ix) . . . . . (pp. 243–53)
Canz. xv (x) . . . . . (pp. 255–9)
Canz. xvi (xi) . . . . . (pp. 261–5)
Canz. viii (xii) . . . . . (pp. 267–79)
Canz. xix (xiii) . . . . . (pp. 281–93)
Canz. xx (xiv) . . . . . (pp. 295–303)
Canz. vi (xv)[1] . . . . . (pp. 305–9)
Son. xxx (xiv) . . . . . (p. 311)
Son. xxxvii (xv) . . . . . (p. 313)
Son. xxxix (xvi) . . . . . (p. 313)
Ball. v . . . . . (p. 315)
Son. xxxiii (xvii) . . . . . (p. 317)
Son. xxxv (xviii) . . . . . (p. 319)
Son. xli (xix) . . . . . (p. 319)
Son. xlix (xx) . . . . . (p. 321)
Son. li (xxi) . . . . . (p. 321)
Ball. iii (vi) . . . . . (p. 323)

Theodore Martin *

1907. Inf. v. 70–142 ('Paolo and Francesca') (*blank verse*) (in *Blackwood's Magazine*, Sept. 1907, vol. clxxxii, pp. 320–2)[2]

* See also under 1845, 1862, 1864, 1871, 1893.

William Warren Vernon *

1907. Purgatorio (in *Readings on the Purgatorio of Dante*, in *prose*)[3]

* See also under 1889, 1894, 1897, 1900, 1906, 1909.

Paget Toynbee *

1907. (In *In the Footprints of Dante*)
Inf. i. 55–60 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 4)
Inf. viii. 106–7 (*rhymed couplet*) . . . . . (p. 6)
Inf. xv. 95–6 (*rhymed couplet*) . . . . . (p. 17)
Inf. xii. 49–51 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (p. 20)
Inf. xiii. 40–5 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 21)
Inf. xiii. 64–6 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (p. 22)
Inf. xxiv. 47–54 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 37)
Purg. i. 115–17; xxviii. 16–18 (*terza rima*) . . . (p. 52)
Canz. viii. 101–4 (*rhymed verse*) . . . . . (p. 71)

* See also under 1900, 1910, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1920.

[1] The above thirty-two poems are qualified by the translator as 'certainly genuine'; the next four are 'probably authentic'; and the last six 'probably spurious'.

[2] Reprinted 'For Private Circulation' in 1908.

[3] Third edition, revised.

Paget Toynbee (*continued*)

1907. Par. xvi. 79–81 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (p. 88)
Purg. xii. 95–6 (*rhymed couplet*) . . . . . (p. 88)
Par. iv. 130–1 (*rhymed couplet*) . . . . . (p. 137)
Inf. xvi. 124–6 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (p. 137)
Par. v. 64–5, 67–8 (*rhymed verse*) . . . . . (p. 139)
Par. v. 73–5 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (p. 139)
Purg. xii. 13–15 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (p. 144)
Par. xv. 34–6 (*terza rima*) . . . . . (p. 167)
Canz. vii. 55–8 (*rhymed verse*) . . . . . (p. 167)
Par. xvii. 19–27 (*blank verse*) . . . . . (p. 170)
Par. xxiv. 101–2 (*rhymed couplet*) . . . . . (p. 200)
Son. v (*blank verse*) . . . . . (pp. 249–50)
And numerous passages from the *Convivio* and other prose works of Dante

Charles Lancelot Shadwell *

1907. (In *In the Footprints of Dante*, by Paget Toynbee) (*Marvellian stanzas*) [1]
Inf. xxvi. 90–102 ('Ulysses' longing to see the World') (pp. 39–40)
Inf. xxvi. 112–20 ('Ulysses' speech to his companions') (p. 41)
Inf. xxvi. 124–42 ('Ulysses' voyage to the West') . (pp. 42–3)

* See also under 1882, 1892, 1899, 1909, 1915.

Arthur Woollgar Verrall *

1907. ('The Birth of Virgil'—in *prose*, in *Albany Review*, reprinted in *Literary Essays Classical and Modern*, Cambridge, 1913)
Inf. i. 70–2, 124–6 . . . . . (*Essays*, p. 204)
Inf. ii. 26–7 . . . . . (p. 206)
Inf. i. 79–82 . . . . . (p. 209)
('The Altar of Mercy'—in *prose*, in *Oxford and Cambridge Review*)
Purg. xxi. 88–9 . . . . . (*Essays*, p. 235)

* See also under 1903, 1908.

Marie Louise Egerton Castle

1907. (In *Dante*, in *Bell's Miniature Series of Poets*)
Sundry passages from the *Divina Commedia* (in *prose*), and other works of Dante

Sir Samuel Walker Griffith *

1908. Inferno (*hendecasyllabic blank verse*) ('The Inferno of Dante Alighieri literally translated into English Verse in the Measure of the Original') [2]

* See also under 1898, 1903, 1911, 1914.

[1] Translated in 1882—now first published.
[2] A revision of the version privately printed in 1903.

Frances Isabella Fraser

1908. Paradiso ('The Paradise of Dante Alighieri') (*blank verse*)

Charles H. Montagu-Douglas-Scott

1908. Inf. iii ('The Gates of Hell') (*hendecasyllabic blank verse*) (in *Exotic Rhymes*,[1] pp. 82–8)

G. Gordon Wright *

1908. Divina Commedia (*blank verse*)[2]

* See also under 1905.

Arthur Woollgar Verrall *

1908. ('Dante on the Baptism of Statius'—in *prose*, in *Albany Review*, reprinted in *Literary Essays Classical and Modern*, Cambridge, 1913)

Purg. xxii. 88–9 . . . . . (*Essays*, p. 185)
Purg. xxii. 74–5 . . . . . (p. 197)
Purg. xxi. 91, 85 . . . . . (p. 199)
Purg. xxi. 99 . . . . . (p. 200)

* See also under 1903, 1907.

Sidney Gunn *

c. 1908. Inferno (*terza rima*) ('A Triple-Rhyme Translation of the Divine Comedy')[3]

* See also under 1912.

William Warren Vernon *

1909. Paradiso (in *Readings on the Paradiso of Dante*, in *prose*)[4]

* See also under 1889, 1894, 1897, 1900, 1906, 1907.

Charles Lancelot Shadwell *

1909. Quaestio de Aqua et Terra[5]

* See also under 1882, 1892, 1899, 1907, 1915.

Edward Wilberforce *

1909. Divina Commedia ('Dante's Inferno, Purgatorio, Paradiso') (*terza rima*)[6]

* See also under 1903.

[1] Privately printed.
[2] Not published.
[3] Not published; Canto I was printed in the *Sewanee Review* for October, 1912.
[4] Second edition, revised.
[5] Translated in 1904 – now first published.
[6] The present version of the *Inferno* is a revised edition of that published separately in 1903.

William Walrond Jackson *

(1838–)

1909. Convivio (*canzoni* in *prose*) [1]

W. J. Stewart McKay

1909. Inf. i–x (*prose*) [2]

G. Grinnell-Milne

1909. Inf. v. 70–142 ('Francesca di Rimini') (*terza rima*) (in *Tales from Tasso: Poems and Translations*, pp. 310–15)

Esther Felicia Fry

(1866–)

c. 1910. Son. i (V. N. § 3) (*rhymed sonnet*) [2]
Son. vii (V. N. § 14) (*rhymed sonnet*) [2]

Ezra Pound

1910. (In *The Spirit of Romance*)
Sundry fragmentary translations from the *Vita Nuova* and *Divina Commedia*

A. L. Money

1910. Purgatorio ('The Purgatory of Dante Alighieri, Rendered into English Verse') (*blank verse*)

William Michael Rossetti *

1910. (In *Dante and his Convito: A Study with Translations*) (in *prose*)

Canz. vi (Conv. ii)	(pp. 10–14)
Canz. vii (Conv. iii)	(pp. 16–22)
Canz. viii (Conv. iv)	(pp. 24–36)
Conv. i. 3, ll. 15–43; 4, ll. 94–105	(pp. 39–40)
And sundry other passages from the *Convivio*	
Son. xix (V. N. § 36)	(p. 60)
Son. xx (V. N. § 37)	(pp. 60–2)
Son. xxi (V. N. § 38)	(p. 62)
Son. xxii (V. N. § 39)	(p. 64)
Ball. x ('Voi che sapete ragionar d'amore')	(pp. 68–70)
Canz. x ('Doglia mi reca nello corde ardire')	(pp. 70–82)
Canz. ix ('Amor che muovi tua virtù dal cielo')	(pp. 84–90)
Canz. xiv ('Io sento sì d'Amor la gran possanza')	(pp. 90–8)
Sest. ii ('Amor, tu vedi ben che questa donna')	(pp. 98–102)
Son. xliii ('Parole mie che per lo mondo siete')	(p. 106)
Son. xxvi ('Chi guarderà giammai senza paura')	(p. 110)

* See also under 1861, 1865, 1878.

[1] Translated in 1905—now first published.
[2] Not published.

1910. Son. xxxi ('E'non è legno di sì forti nocchi') . . (pp. 110–12)
Son. xxviii ('Da quella luce che il suo corso gira') . (p. 114)
Son. xxxix ('Nulla mi parrà mai più crudel cosa') . (p. 116)
Son. xxx ('Due donne in cima della mente mia') . (pp. 116–18)

Paget Toynbee *

1910. Son. i (V. N. § 3) ('A ciascun' alma presa') (*blank verse*) (in *Life of Dante*,[1] p. 158)

* See also under 1900, 1907, 1916, 1917, 1918, 1920.

Arthur John Butler *

1910. (In *The Forerunners of Dante*)
V. E. i. 12, ll. 5–35, 35–42 . . . . . (pp. x, xi)

* See also under 1880; 1885, 1891, 1892, 1893, *c.* 1897.

George Santayana

1910. (In *Three Philosophical Poets: Lucretius, Dante, and Goethe*)
Epist. x, ll. 145–55, 233–6, 239–46 . . . . (pp. 104–5)
Inf. xiv. 63–6 (*prose*) . . . . . (p. 105)

Courtney Langdon *

1911. Inf. xxxii. 124–xxxiii. 90 ('The Death of Ugolino') (*hendecasyllabic blank verse*)
Par. xxxiii. 1–145 ('The Final Vision of God') (*hendecasyllabic blank verse*)[2]

* See also under 1918, 1921.

C. E. Wheeler

1911. Divina Commedia ('The Divine Comedy—a new translation into rhymed verse keeping the triple rhythm of the original') (*terza rima*)

Sir Samuel Walker Griffith *

1911. Divina Commedia ('The Divina Commedia of Dante Alighieri literally translated into English Verse in the hendecasyllabic measure of the original Italian')[3]

* See also under 1898, 1903, 1908, 1914.

Sidney Gunn *

1912. Inf. i (*terza rima*) (in the *Sewanee Review*, Oct. 1912)

* See also under *c.* 1908.

[1] Fourth edition, revised and enlarged.

[2] See *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S. xx. 215.

[3] The *Inferno* was privately printed in 1903, and published, in a revised version, in 1908.

Gauntlett Chaplin

1913. (In *Dante for the People: Selected passages from the Divine Comedy*[1]—in *blank verse*)

Henry Dwight Sedgwick

1913. (In *Italy in the Thirteenth Century*)
Numerous passages from the *Divina Commedia* and *Canzoniere* (in *prose*)

Sir Samuel Walker Griffith *

1914. Poems of the Vita Nuova ('The Poems of the Vita Nuova of Dante Alighieri literally translated into English Verse) (unrhymed) in the metre of the original Italian')

* See also under 1898, 1903, 1908, 1911.

William Boyd Carpenter

(1841–1918)

1914. (In *The Spiritual Message of Dante*) (in *rhymed quatrains of six syllables*)

Inf. ii. 1–4 . . . . . (p. 26)
Purg. viii. 1–6 . . . . . (pp. 26–7)
Purg. xiii. 73–5 . . . . . (p. 28)
Inf. xv. 43–5 . . . . . (p. 28)
Inf. iii. 79–81 . . . . . (p. 29)
Inf. xxiv. 64 . . . . . (p. 29)
Par. xiv. 88–9 . . . . . (p. 217)

Marion S. Bainbrigge

1914. (In *A Walk in Other Worlds with Dante*)
Sundry passages from the *Divina Commedia* (in *prose*)

John Pyne

1914. (In *An English Dante: a translation in the original rhythm and rhymes*)
Inf. i, iii. 1–9, iv. 1–6, v. 72–142 (*terza rima*)[2]

Charles Buller Heberden

(1849–)

1914. De Vulgari Eloquentia[3]

[1] An index of passages translated is prefixed; each canto of the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* is represented, of the *Paradiso* only twelve cantos, very briefly.

[2] See *Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Cambridge (U.S.A.) Dante Society* (1917), p. 6.

[3] As yet unpublished.

Edith Mary Shaw
(1846–)

1914. Divina Commedia ('The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri') (*blank verse*)

Henry Bernard Cotterill *

1915. (In *Mediaeval Italy*)
Sundry passages from the *Divina Commedia* and prose works

* See also under 1919.

Henry Johnson

1915. Divina Commedia ('The Divine Comedy') (*blank verse*)

Charles Lancelot Shadwell *

1915. Paradiso ('The Paradise of Dante Alighieri—an Experiment in Literal Verse Translation') (in *Marvellian stanzas*)

* See also under 1882, 1892, 1899, 1907, 1909.

Lord Curzon of Kedleston
(1859–)

1915. Inferno v. 25–142 ('The Second Circle: Paolo and Francesca') (*rhymed quatrains*) (in *War Poems and other Translations*, pp. 122–37)

Edward J. Edwardes

1915. Inferno ('The Journey of Dante. Part i. Hell')[1] (in *blank verse*)

Paget Toynbee *

916. Epist. ix ('Amico Florentino') (in *Modern Language Review*, vol. xi, pp. 67–8)

* See also under 1900, 1907, 1910, 1917, 1918, 1920.

Edward Moore *

1916. (In *Studies in Dante. Fourth Series*)
Sundry passages from the *Divina Commedia* (in *prose*) and prose works

* See also under 1899, 1903.

Charles Hall Grandgent *

1916. In *Dante* (numerous passages from the *Divina Commedia* in *terza rima*, together with translations from the *Vita Nuova*, *Convivio*, and *Canzoniere*)

* See also under 1917, 1918.

[1] The *Purgatorio* and *Paradiso* have since been completed, but are as yet unpublished.

[2] Published posthumously in 1917.

Henry John Hooper *
(1844–)

1916. Purgatorio (*amphiambics*) [1]

* See also under 1918.

Melville Best Anderson
(1851–)

1916. Par. xxxiii ('*triple rime*') [2]

Alfred M. Brooks

1916. In *Dante: How to know him*
Condensed paraphrase of the *Divina Commedia* (in *prose*)

Charles Hall Grandgent *

1917. In *The Ladies of Dante's Lyrics* (numerous poems from the *Canzoniere* in the metres of the originals, together with sundry passages from the *Divina Commedia* in *terza rima*, and from the prose works)

* See also under 1916, 1918.

Alan Seeger

1917. Inf. xxvi (*rhymed couplets*) (in *Poems*)

Paget Toynbee *

1917. Epist. iv ('Exulanti Pistoriensi') (in *Modern Language Review*, vol. xii, pp. 42–4)
Epist. vi ('Florentinis') (in *Modern Language Review*, vol. xii, pp. 187–91)
Battifolle Letters i–iii (in *Modern Language Review*, vol. xii, pp. 304–9)

1918. Epist. viii ('Cardinalibus Italicis') (in *Modern Language Review*, vol. xiii, pp. 223–7)

* See also under 1900, 1907, 1910, 1916, 1920.

Courtney Langdon *

1918. Inferno ('The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri . . . in English Blank Verse: Volume i. Inferno')

* See also under 1911, 1921.

Isaac Sharp

1918. Inf. i (*irregular verse*—every third line rhyming) [3]

[1] Not yet published.

[2] Privately printed at Florence. The author informs me that he has also translated the *Inferno*, *Purgatorio*, and *Paradiso* i–xiii (1900–1917).

[3] Not published.

Herbert Baynes *

1918. (In *Oriental Characteristics in the Divina Commedia*, in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, Series ii, vol. xxxvi) (in *blank verse*)

Par. xviii. 28–33 . . . . . (p. 183)
Purg. xxxii. 31–51 . . . . . (pp. 183–4)
Par. xi. 37–53 . . . . . (pp. 200–1)
Inf. xv. 55–6 . . . . . (p. 201)

* See also under 1891.

Henry John Hooper *

1918. Inferno (*amphiambics*) [1]

* See also under 1916.

Charles Hall Grandgent *

1918. In *The Power of Dante* (numerous passages from the *Divina Commedia* in *terza rima* and *prose*, from the *Canzoniere* in *verse*, and from the prose works)

* See also under 1916, 1917.

Henry Bernard Cotterill *

1919. (In *Italy from Dante to Tasso*)
Sundry passages from the *Divina Commedia* and prose works

* See also under 1915.

Eleanor Prescott Hammond

(1866–)

1919. (In *Dante in English; a terza rima translation, and critique of terza rima translations of the Inferno of Dante, cantos i–vii, with notes*) [2]
Inf. i–vii (*terza rima*)

Paget Toynbee *

1920. Epistolae ('The Letters of Dante') [3]

* See also under 1900, 1907, 1910, 1916, 1917, 1918.

Eleanor Vinton Murray

1920. Inferno (*terza rima*) [4]

[1] Not published.
[2] Privately printed, Chicago, 1919.
[3] First complete English translation, from revised text; besides the ten letters printed in the *Oxford Dante*, the three Battifolle letters (and the apocryphal letter to Guido da Polenta) are included.
[4] Privately printed at Boston, Mass.

Anonymous

1920. Purg. xxx. 67-99 ('Dante and Beatrice') (*irregular rhyme*) (in *Common Sense*, Dec. 25)

Courtney Langdon *

1921. Purgatorio ('The Divine Comedy of Dante Alighieri . . . in English Blank Verse: Volume ii. Purgatorio')

* See also under 1911, 1918.

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF DANTE IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY[1]

NOT from the days of Chaucer to the reign of George I could English literature boast of a translation, properly so called, of any portion of the *Divina Commedia*. Mere incidental versions of a few lines here and there may be found, it is true, in several of the numerous translations of Italian works which were issued from the press in England during the sixteenth century; while, in the next century, Milton, in his treatise *Of Reformation touching Church Discipline*, tried his hand at a rendering of a single terzina from the *Inferno*.[2] But not till 1719, when the 'great Cham of literature' was ten years old, and the author of the *Elegy* was already out of leading-strings, did the first translation from Dante, produced avowedly as a translation, make its appearance in the English world of letters. In that year was published 'at the Black Swan in Pater-Noster-Row' a volume entitled 'Two Discourses. I. An Essay on the whole Art of Criticism as it relates to Painting. II. An Argument in behalf of the Science of a Connoisseur. Both by Mr. *Richardson*.' The author of this work was Jonathan Richardson, the elder, portrait-painter and poetaster. who, if Horace Walpole (one of his sitters[3]) is to be believed, 'after his retirement from business, amused himself with writing a short poem, and drawing his own or his son's portrait, every day'.[4]

[1] Reprinted, with additions and corrections, from *Modern Language Review*, Oct. 1905, vol. i, pp. 9–24.

[2] See my article on *English Translations from Dante (Fourteenth to Seventeenth Centuries)* in *Journal of Comparative Literature*, vol. i, pp. 345–65.

[3] Richardson's portrait of Horace Walpole (now in the possession of Earl Waldegrave) is reproduced in vol. ii of Mrs. Paget Toynbee's edition of the *Letters of Horace Walpole*.

[4] *Anecdotes of Painting* (ed. 1888), vol. ii, p. 277.

In the second of the two Discourses, of which the full title, as set out on a separate title-page, is 'A Discourse on the Dignity, Certainty, Pleasure, and Advantage of the Science of a Connoisseur', Richardson introduces a reference to the story of Count Ugolino. Of this story, as being 'very Curious, and very little Known', he gives a summary from the Florentine History of Giovanni Villani. He then continues:

'The Poet carries this Story farther than the Historian could, by relating what pass'd in the Prison. This is *Dante*, who was a young man when this happened, and was Ruin'd by the Commotions of these times. He was a *Florentine*, which City after having been long divided by the *Guelf*, and *Ghibelline* Faction at last became intirely *Guelf*: But This Party then split into two others under the Names of the *Bianchi*, and the *Neri*, the Latter of which prevailing, Plunder'd, and Banish'd *Dante*; not because he was of the Contrary Party, but for being Neuter, and a Friend to his Countrey.

When Virtue fails, and Party-heats endure
The Post of Honour *is the Least Secure.*

This great Man (in the 33d Canto of the 1st part of his *Comedia*) in his Passage thro' Hell, introduces Count *Ugolino* knawing the Head of his Treacherous, and Cruel Enemy the Archbishop, and telling his own sad Story. At the appearance of *Dante*

La bocca solleuò dal fiero pasto
Quel peccator, etc.'

Richardson then gives a translation of the passage (seventy-seven lines in the original) in blank verse, which, if not very poetical, is at any rate fairly faithful—for an age in which Dryden's Virgil and Pope's Homer were the standards of translation. The following is a specimen—Ugolino speaks:

The hour was come when Food should have been brought,
Instead of that, O God! I heard the noise
Of creaking Locks, and Bolts, with doubled force
Securing our Destruction. I beheld
The Faces of my Sons with troubled Eyes;
I Look'd on them, but utter'd not a Word;
Nor could I weep; They wept, *Anselmo* said
(My little, dear *Anselmo*) What's the matter
Father, Why look you so? I wept not yet,
Nor spake a Word that Day, nor following Night.
But when the Light of the succeeding Morn
Faintly appear'd, and I beheld my Own
In the four Faces of my Wretched Sons

I in my clenched Fists fasten'd my Teeth:
They judging 'twas for Hunger rose at once,
You Sir have giv'n us Being, you have cloath'd
Us with this miserable Flesh, 'tis yours,
Sustain your Self with it, the Grief to Us
Is less to Dye, than thus to see your Woes.
Thus spake my Boyes: I like a Statue then
Was Silent, Still, and not to add to Theirs
Doubled the weight of my Own Miseries.

The next specimen is by a literary hack, one Pierre Desmaizeaux, the son of a French Protestant minister—'one of those French refugees,' says Isaac D'Israeli of him, 'whom political madness or despair of intolerance had driven to our own shores. The proscription of Louis XIV, which supplied us with our skilful workers in silk, also produced a race of the unemployed, who proved not to be as exquisite in the handicraft of bookmaking.'[1] Desmaizeaux, whom Warburton describes[2] as a 'verbose, tasteless Frenchman', was a protégé of Halifax and of Addison, and through the interest of the latter obtained a pension, 'like his talents, very moderate,' on the Irish establishment. He afterwards enjoyed the double distinction of having one of his books burned in Dublin by the common hangman, and of being elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. He became a translator of Dante by the merest accident. In 1735 he published an English edition of Bayle's Dictionary, in which he undertook to furnish translations of all 'the quotations from Eminent Writers in various Languages'. In his article on Dante Bayle quotes about a dozen passages from the *Divina Commedia*, and these Desmaizeaux has rendered into rhymed couplets, in what he no doubt intended to be the style of Pope—hardly an appropriate vehicle for Dante. Here is his rendering of twelve lines (91–102) from the twenty-third canto of the *Purgatorio*:

The widdow'd Charmer, who my Bed did share,
Merits by Virtue Heaven's peculiar Care;
Who chastly lives amidst a wanton Race,
Lewder than those *Sardinia's* Coasts embrace.

[1] *Curiosities of Literature* (ed. 1866), vol. iii, p. 14.
[2] In a letter to Dr. Birch.

What shall I say? Hope rises in my Breast,
And to my Sight the future stands confess'd.
I see reform'd the Ladies of the Town,
And Pulpits preach each wanton Fashion down.

Of a very different character was the author who next entered the field. This was the poet Gray, the third on the roll of English poets,[1] to whom Dante was an object of 'lungo studio e grande amore', and who undoubtedly was more intimately acquainted with the works of the great Florentine than any other Englishman of the eighteenth century. Gray, like Richardson, selected for translation the Ugolino episode from the thirty-third canto of the *Inferno*. His version, which remained in manuscript for more than a hundred years, was, like his translation from Tasso, composed probably as an exercise at the time when, as he writes to his friend, Richard West (in March, 1737), he was 'learning Italian like any dragon'. Mr. Gosse, who first printed the piece in full,[2] thinks it 'extremely fine', and assigns it to Gray's best period. More sober critics rate it less highly.[3] As the work of a poet and a scholar of Gray's reputation it must be confessed that the performance is decidedly disappointing. That Gray himself had no great opinion of the piece may be gathered from the fact that he did not consider it worthy of publication. The following may be compared with Richardson's rendering of the same passage given above:

Now the Hour
Of timely Food approach'd; when at the Gate
Below I heard the dreadful Clash of Bars,
And fast'ning Bolts: then on my Children's Eyes
Speechless my Sight I fix'd, nor wept, for all
Within was Stone: they wept, unhappy Boys!
They wept, and first my little dear Anselmo
Cried, Father, why, why do you gaze so sternly?
What would you have? yet wept I not, or answer'd

[1] His predecessors having been Chaucer and Milton.

[2] *Works of Thomas Gray* (ed. 1884), vol. i, pp. 157–60. Fifteen lines were printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1849 (N.S. xxxii. 343). See Northup's *Bibliography of Thomas Gray*, p. 71.

[3] See *Gray and Dante*, by the President of Magdalen College, Oxford (Sir Herbert Warren), in *Essays of Poets and Poetry*, pp. 238–9.

All that whole Day, or the succeeding Night
Till a new Sun arose with weakly Gleam,
And wan, such as mought Entrance find within
That House of Woe. But oh! when I beheld
My Sons, and in four Faces saw my own
Despair reflected, either Hand I gnaw'd
For Anguish, which they construed Hunger; straight
Ariseing all they cried, far less shall be
Our Suffering, Sir, if you resume your Gift;
These miserable Limbs with Flesh you cloath'd;
Take back, what once was yours. I swallow'd down
My struggling Sorrow, not to heighten theirs.

An interesting experiment in Dante translation was published anonymously in 1746, in Robert Dodsley's *Museum: Or, The Literary and Historical Register*, in the shape of '*The Three First Stanzas of the 24th Canto of* Dante's Inferna[1] *made into a* Song. *In imitation of the Earl of* Surry's *Stile*':

I

When in the opening of the youthful Year,
Sol in *Aquarius* bathes his glistering Ray;
In early Morn the Fields all white appear,
With hoary Frost is cover'd every Spray:
And every Herb and every Grass is shent,
All in the Chill Imprisonment ypent.

II

The mean-clad Swain, forth issuing from his Cot,
Looks sadly all around the whitening Waste;
And grieves that his poor Sheep, by Heaven forgot,
Can find no Food, no tender Green to taste:
He beats his Breast as one distract, or mad;
And home returns, with pensive Look and sad.

III

There silent grieves. Then once again looks out,
And sees the Groves and Meads quite alter'd are.
The Sun has cast his melting Rays about,
And every Green appears more fresh and fair.
Then Hope returns, and Joy unknits his Brows,
And forth he leads his Flock the tender Grass to brouze.

[1] *Sic.*

IV

Thus when my Fair One views me with Disdain,
My Heart is sunk within me, sad and dead;
My Spirits yield, and all my Soul 's in Pain;
I sit and sigh, and hang my drooping Head:
But if she smile, my Sadness melts away,
Each gloomy Thought clears up, and I'm all blithe and gay.

Whatever may be thought of his choice of a metre, it must be admitted that the anonymous author of these graceful stanzas, who is identified by Joseph Warton as Joseph Spence,[1] has very successfully caught the spirit of the original; while his translation, all things considered, is remarkably close—the substitution of his 'Fair One' for Dante's Virgil is pardonable under the circumstances. The success of this experiment might fairly, we think, be used as a fresh argument in favour of the adoption of some form of stanza for the translation of the *Divina Commedia* into English.[2] *Terza rima* appears to be out of the question as an English metre, at any rate for the purposes of translation. No English writer, save one or two of our earlier poets—not even Shelley, nor Byron—has shown himself to be really at home in the handling of this metre.[3] Consequently, if the rhyme of the original is to be represented at all, as it assuredly should be, some such expedient as the above would seem to be the best way out of the difficulty.

The Rev. Joseph Warton, then recently appointed second master of Winchester College, who, ten years later, tried his hand at Dante, solved the problem in his own way by taking refuge in prose.[4] In that 'very pleasing book', as Dr. Johnson styled it,[5] the *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope*, the

[1] See Warton's *Works of Alexander Pope*, ed. 1797, vol. iv, p. 283, note on verse 192 of Satire IV of *Satires of Dr. Donne Versified*: 'Not Dante dreaming.'

[2] That Dante may be successfully rendered in this way is proved by the admirable versions of the *Purgatorio* (1892–9) and *Paradiso* (1915) in Marvellian stanzas, by the late Provost of Oriel (Dr. C. L. Shadwell).

[3] Some may be inclined to make an exception in favour of the late Canon Dixon's *Mano*, which is, perhaps, the most successful attempt of the kind.

[4] Perhaps he took the hint from Baretti, who in his *Dissertation upon the Italian Poetry*, published in 1753, quotes several passages from the *Commedia*, including part of the Ugolino episode, together with an English prose rendering.

[5] See Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (Globe ed. 1899, p. 153).

first volume of which was published in 1756, Warton instances the story of Ugolino, as told by Dante, in support of his contention that 'events that have actually happened are, after all, the properest subjects for poetry'. For the benefit of those of his readers who should not be acquainted with Italian, he supplies a version of the story in his own words. 'I cannot recollect', he says, 'any passage, in any writer whatever, so truly pathetic'; and, to make sure that none of the pathos shall be missed, he adds: 'It was thought not unproper to distinguish the more moving passages by Italics.' He then proceeds:

'Ugolino is giving the description of his being imprisoned with his children by the Archbishop Ruggieri. "The hour approached when we expected to have something brought us to eat. But, instead of seeing any food appear, *I heard the doors of that horrible dungeon more closely barred.* I beheld my little children *in silence*, and could not weep. My heart was petrified! The little wretches wept; and my dear Anselm said, *Father, you look on us! what ails you?* I could neither weep nor answer, and continued swallowed up in silent agony all that day, and the following night, even till the dawn of day. As soon as a glimmering ray darted through the doleful prison, that I could view *again those four faces, in which my own image was impressed, I gnawed both my hands* with grief and rage. My children believing I did this through eagerness to eat, raising themselves suddenly up, said to me, *My Father! our torments would be less, if you would allay the rage of your hunger upon us.* I restrained myself, that I might not encrease their misery. . . ."'

It is a relief to turn from this truly pedestrian performance to another anonymous specimen, which appeared in the *British Magazine, or Monthly Repository for Gentlemen and Ladies*, for the year 1760. The author is stated to have been William Huggins,[1] the translator of Ariosto, son of a notorious Warden of the Fleet Prison. A dispute between Huggins and Thomas Warton, Professor of Poetry at Oxford, concerning Ariosto, gave occasion to one of Dr. Johnson's caustic remarks. 'Huggins,' relates Boswell,[2] 'attempting to answer with violence Mr. Warton's account of Ariosto, said, "I will *militate* no longer against his *nescience*." Huggins was master of

[1] See the article on Huggins in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

[2] *Life of Johnson* (Globe ed. 1899, pp. 528–9).

the subject, but wanted expression. Mr. Warton's knowledge of it was then imperfect, but his manner lively and elegant. Johnson said, "It appears to me, that Huggins has ball without powder, and Warton powder without ball." The passage translated by Huggins is Dante's paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer, at the beginning of the eleventh canto of the *Purgatorio*. Huggins, who evidently piqued himself on the faithfulness of his version, succeeded in rendering the original line for line—a rare achievement in an eighteenth-century translator.

Dante, Il Purgatorio
Canto 11
Sicut meus mos,
As literally as possible.

Our Father blest, who art in Heav'n above,
Not circumscrib'd; but thro' consummate love,
Which to those primal essences you bear,
Thy name be hallowed; thy power rare,
By ev'ry creature: as it is but meet,
All thanks be render'd to thy effluence sweet:

Advance to us the peace of thy wish'd reign,
As, of ourselves, to that we can't attain,
If it comes not, with all our skill humane.

As, in the heav'ns, thy angels of their will
Make sacrifice, and sing Hosanna still,
So, may, on earth, mankind thy law fulfil.

Our daily manna give to us this day,
Without it, thro' this wild and thorny way,
Who strives to travel, will more backward stray.

And, like as we those wrongs, which we receive,
In others pardon, so thy pardon give
Benignant: nor survey our merit small,
And feeble virtue, so propense to fall,
Suffer not our old enemy to tempt;
But, from his punctures keep us still exempt.
Amen.

William Huggins has been somewhat unkindly treated by the fates in the matter of Dante. At his death (in 1761) he

left in manuscript a complete translation of the *Divina Commedia* (of which the above was printed as a specimen), with directions that it should be published. A clause in his will [1] runs as follows: 'I give to my Worthy Friend the Revd. Mr. Thomas Monkhouse, Fellow of Queen's College, Oxon., the Sum of Fifty pounds on condition, and with full persuasion that he will, to the best of his abilities, superintend an edition of the Dante, and Annotations, with all matters thereto belonging, lately translated and compiled by me, in manner and form as he shall judge best, the expenses of the Printing and publication, and all charges relative thereto to be paid by my Executors.' He also had his portrait painted and engraved by Hogarth [2] (whose friend and patron he was), with the names of Dante and Ariosto in the background, to serve as a frontispiece to his Dante. Hogarth's portrait of Huggins is still in the possession of his family; [3] but his wishes with respect to his Dante seem to have been wholly disregarded by his executors (who were his sons-in-law, and inherited his estates)—at any rate the translation was never published, and Huggins has thus been deprived of the credit of having been the first to make a complete English translation of the *Divina Commedia*—a distinction which is commonly claimed on behalf of the Rev. Henry Boyd, whose version was not published till more than forty years after Huggins's death.

We now return once more to the Ugolino episode, of which yet another version appeared in 1773. This was by Frederick Howard, fifth Earl of Carlisle, *ci-devant* gamester and boon companion of Charles James Fox—best known to fame, perhaps, as the kinsman and guardian of Lord Byron, who dedicated to him the second edition of his *Hours of Idleness*, and afterwards savagely lampooned him in *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*:

[1] Kindly supplied by one of his descendants, Miss Blunt of Adderbury Manor, Banbury.

[2] According to William Stewart Rose (*Introduction to Orlando Furioso*) Huggins is the person who figures in Hogarth's picture as the Enraged Musician.

[3] At Adderbury Manor.

No muse will cheer, with renovating smile,
The paralytic puling of Carlisle.
The puny schoolboy and his early lay
Men pardon, if his follies pass away;
But who forgives the senior's ceaseless verse,
Whose hairs grow hoary as his rhymes grow worse?

Lord Carlisle, the productions of whose muse, whatever Byron may have chosen to think of them—he owned later[1] that he had done his kinsman 'some wrong'—earned the praise of two such differently constituted critics as Dr. Johnson[2] and Horace Walpole, printed his translation privately in the first instance in 1772. Walpole, writing to William Mason from Strawberry Hill on May 25 of that year, says:

'Lord Carlisle has written and printed some copies of an Ode on Gray's death. There is a real spirit of poetry in it, but no invention; for it is only a description of Gray's descriptions. There are also two epitaphs on Lady Carlisle's Dog, not bad, and a translation from Dante of the story of Count Ugolino, which I like the least of the four pieces.'

This volume, which is a slim quarto of seventeen pages, was not published till the next year, when the Ugolino was also separately printed in the *Gentleman's Magazine*. The following is a specimen of the translation, which is in rhymed couplets, and anything but literal:

Through the small opening of the prison's height
One moon had almost spent its waining light.
It was when Sleep had charm'd my cares to rest,
And wearied Grief lay dozing in my breast:
Futurity's dark veil was drawn aside,
I in my dream the troubled prospect eyed.
On those high hills it seem'd, (those hills which hide
Pisa from Lucca,) that, by Sismond's side,
Guland and Landfranc, with discordant cry,
Rouse from its den a wolf and young, who fly
Before their famish'd dogs; I saw the sire
And little trembling young ones faint and tire,
Saw them become the eager blood-hounds' prey,
Who soon with savage rage their haunches flay.

[1] In the third canto of *Childe Harold*

[2] See Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (Globe ed. 1899, pp. 570, 619-20).

I first awoke, and view'd my slumbering boys,
Poor hapless product of my nuptial joys,
Scar'd with *their* dreams, toss o'er their stony bed,
And starting scream with frightful noise for bread.

A second prose version of this now hackneyed episode was published in 1781, in the third volume of Thomas Warton's *History of English Poetry*. It was evidently based upon that of his brother, Joseph Warton, already quoted, and is, if possible, even more banal. The introductory paragraph contains one gem which is worth reproducing: 'The poet wandering through the depths of hell, sees two of the Damned gnawing the sculls of each other, which was their daily food!' Thomas Warton also attempted a version of the inscription over the gate of Hell, in the third canto of the *Inferno*, in which, owing to a mistranslation, he has perpetrated a 'bull' of the first order:

'By me is the way to the woeful city. By me is the way to the eternal pains. By me is the way to the damned race. My mighty maker was divine Justice and Power, the Supreme Wisdom, and the First Love. Before me nothing was created. If not eternal, I shall eternally remain (!). Put away all hope, ye that enter.'[1]

The next specimen has a special interest of its own, as being the first attempt in English to translate Dante in the metre of the original.[2] The author of this experiment was William Hayley, of whom Southey said that 'everything about that man is good except his poetry'. His translation, which consists of the first three cantos of the *Inferno*, was published in 1782, among the notes to the third Epistle of his *Essay on Epic Poetry*. In his introductory remarks Hayley says:

'We have several versions of the celebrated story of Ugolino; but I believe no entire canto of Dante has hitherto appeared in our language. . . . The Author flatters himself that the ensuing portion of a celebrated poem may afford some pleasure from its novelty, as he has endeavoured to give the English reader an idea of Dante's peculiar

[1] Ed. 1824, vol. iv, p. 63.

[2] With the exception of the first three lines of the *Inferno* translated by Sir John Harington in the *Allegorie of the Fourth Booke* of his *Orlando Furioso*. See above, p. 178.

manner, by adopting his triple rhyme; and he does not recollect that this mode of versification has ever appeared before in our language: it has obliged him, of course, to make the number of translated lines correspond exactly with those of the original.'

In claiming to have been the first to adopt the 'triple rhyme' in English poetry Hayley shows himself ignorant of the fact that Chaucer, Wyatt, Surrey, and Milton all wrote English poems in *terza rima*—though not all in imitation of Dante.[1]

The following lines from the third canto will serve as a sample of Hayley's rendering:

And lo! towards us, with a shrivell'd skin,
A hoary boatman steers his crazy bark,
Exclaiming, 'Woe to all ye sons of sin!
Hope not for heaven, nor light's celestial spark!
I come to waft you to a different lot;
To Torture's realm, with endless horror dark:
And thou, who living view'st this sacred spot,
Haste to depart from these, for these are dead!'
But when he saw that I departed not,
In wrath he cry'd, 'Thro' other passes led,
Not here, shalt thou attempt the farther shore;
But in a bark to bear thy firmer tread.'—
O Charon, said my Guide, thy strife give o'er;
For thus 'tis will'd in that superior scene
Where will is power. Seek thou to know no more!—
. . . . . .
Charon, with eyes of fire and words of gall,
Collects his crew, and high his oar he wields,
To strike the tardy wretch who slights his call.
As leaves in autumn thro' the woody fields
Fly in succession, when each trembling tree
Its ling'ring honors to the whirlwind yields;
So this bad race, condemn'd by Heaven's decree,
Successive hasten from that river's side:
As birds, which at a call to bondage flee,
So are they wafted o'er the gloomy tide;
And ere from thence their journey is begun,
A second crew awaits their hoary guide.—

In the same year (1782) as Hayley published this experiment, which is by no means without merit, there appeared in

[1] Wyatt and Surrey borrowed the metre from Alamanni rather than from Dante.

the second volume of Dr. Charles Burney's *History of Music* a rendering of about thirty lines of the second canto of the *Purgatorio*. It is introduced à propos of a mention of the musician Casella, 'whom Dante feigns to have met in Purgatory'. 'There is something', says Dr. Burney, 'in the description of this imaginary rencontre so simple and affectionate, that I cannot help wishing to convey an idea of it to the English reader:

> On me when first these spirits fix their eyes
> They all regard me with a wild surprise,
> Almost forgetting that their sins require
> The purging remedy of penal fire:
> When one of these advanc'd with eager pace,
> And open arms, as me he would embrace;
> At sight of which I felt myself impell'd
> To imitate each gesture I beheld.
> But vain, alas! was every effort made.
> My disappointed arms embrace a shade:
> Thrice did vacuity my grasp elude,
> Yet still the friendly phantom I pursued.
> My wild astonishment with smiling grace
> The spectre saw, and chid my fruitless chace.
> The voice and form, now known, my fear suspend,
> O stay, cried I, one moment with thy friend!
> No suit of thine is vain, the vision said,
> I lov'd thee living, and I love thee dead.
> But whence this haste?—Not long allowed to stay,
> Back to the world thy Dante takes his way.
> Yet let this fleeting hour one boon obtain
> If no new laws thy tuneful pow'rs restrain,
> Some song predominant o'er grief and woe
> As once thou sung'st above, now sing below;
> So shall my soul releas'd from dire dismay
> O'ercome the horrors of this dreadful way.
> Casella kindly deign'd his voice to raise,
> And sung how *Love the human bosom sways*,
> In strains so exquisitely sweet and clear,
> The sound still vibrates on my ravish'd ear;
> The shadowy troops, extatic, listening round,
> Forgot the past and future in the sound.'

This was not Dr. Burney's first attempt at translating Dante. It is recorded by Madame d'Arblay, in her *Memoirs*

of Dr. Burney,[1] that after the death of his first wife in 1761, her father, to distract his grief, made a prose translation of the *Inferno*. This translation, which has never been printed, was still in existence in 1832, when Madame d'Arblay, then in her eightieth year, published the *Memoirs*.

'During the period of this irreparable earthly blast,' she writes, in the 'broken Johnsonese', as Macaulay describes it, into which she degenerated towards the close of her life, 'Mr. Burney had recourse to the works of Dante, which, ere long, beguiled from him some attention. . . . A sedulous, yet energetic, though prose translation of the *Inferno*, remains amongst his posthumous relics, to demonstrate the sincere struggles with which, even amidst this overwhelming calamity, he strove to combat that most dangerously consuming of all canker-worms upon life and virtue, utter inertness.'

The year 1782 is remarkable in the annals of English Dante literature as having seen the publication, not only of Hayley's experiment in *terza rima*, and of Dr. Burney's version of the Casella episode, but also of the first complete English translation of the *Inferno*. This translation, which was dedicated to Sir Edward Walpole, elder brother of Horace Walpole, was issued anonymously, but the author is known to have been Charles Rogers, Principal Officer of the Customs, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and an art collector and virtuoso of considerable repute. Rogers's version, which is in blank verse, is a very poor performance. It is claimed on his behalf that 'he chiefly attended to giving the sense of his author with fidelity; the character of a Poet not seeming to have been the object of his ambition'.[2] But his translation, while entirely devoid of any spark of poetry, has not even the merit of being faithful, as the subjoined specimen, from the fifth canto of the *Inferno* (ll. 88–108), will show. Francesca speaks:

> O mortal Man replete with Grace divine,
> Who in this azure region visit us
> That have defiled with our blood the world,
> If by the universal King we were
> Befriended, we would to him for you pray:

[1] Vol. i, pp. 150 ff.

[2] See Nichols's *Literary Anecdotes*, iii, pp. 256–7.

Since you commis'rate our unhappy lot,
We're ready to reply to what you ask;
Now that the wind is still to favour us.
The Land where I was born is on the shore
Plac'd, where the Po and all his rivulets
Run with their tributes smoothly to the sea.
Love, which possesses soon a courteous breast,
Seiz'd on my handsome Paramour, whose loss
I yet lament, reflecting on the act:
Love, which will always be by love repaid,
Caus'd me to that great pleasure in him take,
Which still possesses me, as you perceive.
Love brought us both to the like fatal end:
But Caina him expects who did this deed.

In 1785,[1] three years after the appearance of Rogers's volume, there was published in Dublin a second translation of the *Inferno*. The author was an Irish clergyman, the Rev. Henry Boyd, who seventeen years later published in London a translation of the whole of the *Commedia*—the first complete English version to see the light. Boyd's work, which is written in six-line stanzas, is not so much a translation as a paraphrase, in which it is often difficult to recognize Dante at all. His method, however, seems on the whole to have been acceptable to the critics, one of whom [2] speaks approvingly of his way of 'dilating the scanty expressions of his author into perspicuous and flowing diction'; while another [3] remarks that 'the dullness of Dante is often enlivened by Mr. Boyd with profuse ornaments of his own, by which he is rather elevated than degraded'. The following is Boyd's rendering of the famous passage in the twenty-sixth canto of the *Inferno*, in which Ulysses relates the manner of his death:

Ye wand'ring Shades! *Laertes'* son behold,
Who left the lov'd *Circaean* bow'rs of old,
Ere good *Aeneas* bless'd *Caieta's* shore!
Yet, after all my toils, nor aged sire,
Nor son, nor spouse, could check the wild desire
Again to tempt the sea, with vent'rous oar.

[1] In the same year was published, in *The Florence Miscellany*, the first English translation of the episode of Paolo and Francesca from *Inf.* v as a separate piece.

[2] In the *Monthly Review*, March, 1805.

[3] In the *Critical Review*, March, 1803.

In search of fame I measur'd various climes,
Still vers'd in deeper frauds and nameless crimes.
With slender band, and solitary sail,
I circled round the *Celtiberian* strand:
I saw the *Sardian* cliffs, *Morocco's* land,
And pass'd *Alcides'* straits with steady gale.

The broad Atlantic first my keel impress'd,
I saw the sinking barriers of the west,
And boldly thus address'd my hardy crew:
'While yet your blood is warm, my gallant train,
Explore with me the perils of the main,
And find new worlds unknown to mortal view.

Recall your glorious toils, your lofty birth,
Nor like the grov'ling herds, ally'd to earth,
To[1] base despondence quit your lofty claim.'
They heard, and thro' th' unconquerable band
My potent words the living ardor fann'd,
And instant breath'd around the fervent flame.

With measur'd stroke the whit'ning surge they sweep,
'Till ev'ry well-known star beneath the deep
Declin'd his radiant head; and o'er the sky
A beamy squadron rose, of name unknown,
Antarctic glories deck'd the burning zone
Of night, and southern fires salute the eye.

Now five successive moons with borrow'd light
Had silver'd o'er the sober face of night,
Since first the western surge receiv'd our prow:
At length a distant isle was seen to rise,
Obscure at first, and mingling with the skies,
'Till nearer seen, its shores began to grow.

A mountain rose sublime above the coast,
Immeasurably tall, in vapours lost;
Where hurricanes for ever howl around.
Curs'd be the day I saw the dismal shore!
Accurst the rending sail and faithless oar!
And curs'd myself that pass'd the fatal bound!

Trembling I saw the Heav'n commission'd blast
The canvas tear, and bend the groaning mast;
In vain we toil'd the ruin to prevent:
Thrice round and round the found'ring vessel rides,
The op'ning plank receiv'd the rushing tides,
And me and mine to quick perdition sent!

[1] Printed 'No'.

The last and, in some respects perhaps, the most characteristic English translation from Dante in the eighteenth century consisted of a rendering in blank verse of the story of Paolo and Francesca, from the fifth canto of the *Inferno*, which was accompanied by yet another version (the eighth, as a separate piece) of the Ugolino episode. The author was the eccentric virtuoso, Henry Constantine Jennings, better known as 'Dog Jennings', from a famous antique marble dog, which he discovered and bought in Rome for a trifle, and afterwards sold at Christie's for a thousand guineas.[1] These translations, which had been privately printed in 1794, were published in 1798 in a volume entitled *Summary and Free Reflections, in which the Great Outline only, and Principal Features, of several Interesting Subjects, are impartially traced, and candidly examined.* In his introduction Jennings says:

'Dante's Poem of Inferno, Purgatorio, and Paradiso, is, certainly *Poetry*: and though written at so early and uncultivated a Period as that of the thirteenth Century, is equal to any Thing that could reasonably be expected from so grating a Subject, even at the best Times of modern Literature. It is, however, upon the whole, a painful Undertaking to read it regularly through: for, independent of the manifold Repetition, and uninteresting and extravagant Variation of the same nauseous Descriptions; the principal Object of its Merit, at the Time it was written, consisted in the Satire, aimed against the surviving Reputation of such of his Enemies as were departed during the busiest Period of the Author's Life, which, considering too the gothic Language it is written in, has by a Lapse of Five Hundred Years, almost precluded any just Claim to its present Power of amusing, if its Reader be not a meer Antiquarian.

'I except, however, the following Canto, and the consummately pathetic Narrative of Hugolino, with, perhaps, Half a Dozen more short Passages; and it is for the above Reasons, that this Canto only, and the Hugolino, are attempted.

'The first is comprised in a consistent *ensemble*, and besides the little Novel of Francesca (the most elegant in the whole Piece), it conveys a sufficient Idea of Dante's Management throughout the Poem. The Hugolino is unique in its kind[2]...'

[1] This dog, of which Jennings remarked, 'a fine dog it was, and a lucky dog was I to purchase it', was the subject of an entertaining conversation (recorded by Boswell under April 3, 1778) between Johnson and Burke (Globe ed. 1899, p. 443).

[2] Dated 'Sept. 13, 1794'.

Of the translation itself, and of the curious notes by which it is accompanied, the following may serve as samples:

'The Fifth Canto of Dante's Inferno.

In which Virgil is supposed to accompany him, as Mystagogue, down the different Cloisters allotted to the respective Delinquencys of the Damned . . .

From Hell's first dreary Mansion, to the next
We now descended: less, but fuller far
Of pungent Woes: for, at its Entrance sat,
Ruthlessly grinning a contemptuous Smile,
Inexorable Minos,[1] dooming right:
For such th' imposing Terror of his Brow,
That, self-convicted the Delinquents yield,
Confess their Errors, and obey their Doom.
At sight of us, Minos, his awfull Task
Suspending, thus alarm'd mi' affrighted Sense.
Advent'rous Stranger, wide tho' th' Entrance be,
Yet, thy Return consider well, and well
Thy Guide examine: to whom Virgil, thus,
Retorts th' insulting Caution: Churlish Judge,
Thy Aid we ask not, for, the mighty Power
Who our exploring March deigns to direct,
Not thee alone, but, Fate itself controles:
Onward we pass in thy Despite. . . .'

When Jennings comes to the episode of Francesca da Rimini he thus renders her account of how she and Paolo were tempted and fell:

One fatal Day, Amusement all our Aim,
Alone, and unsuspecting, the sweet Tale
Of love enthralled, Launcelot was our Theme:
Oft' by his Suff'rings, were our Tears enforc't,
Our Countenance impassion'd, and inflam'd,
Yet, one sole Period, truely was the Cause
Of our Defeat: the Smile, the heav'nly Smile!
Of the long lov'd Genevra, when we read;
Kiss't by her glorious Lover: he, from whom

[1] 'I have purposely omitted the quaint Idea of his manifesting the Degree of Depth that the Delinquents were respectively condemned to, by the Number of Turns, with which he, at every Sentence passed upon them, entwined his own Body with his tail; being rather shocked to think that so elegant a Poet should have so wantonly given him One, and of such enormous Length as to go so many Times round him.'

Not Death itself cou'd part me, tremblingly
My trembling Lips impress't, with a like Kiss.
Pander! the Book, Pander its Writer was:
That Day we read no more.

The translator's note on this passage is as follows:

'This melancholy Event seems to be recorded by Dante, with the sole View of illustrating by actual, and then recent Example, the dangerous Practice of young People's reading Romances together in private; and still more so, where there already exists an Inclination between the Parties, as in the present Instance.'

Jennings then proceeds:

'The Reader is now to suppose, that he has laboured through, nearly, thirty-two Cantos of the Inferno . . . and, that he is now arrived near the End of the last Canto but two, that of the *frozen Region*, where he will be highly gratified for his Trouble, by the transcendently fine and pathetic Narration of Hugolino's earthly Sufferings and condign Vengeance on Ruggiero, Arch-Bishop of Pisa, who had so wantonly been *his* living Tormentor.—I say transcendently fine, for such, it truely is in the Original.

The Narrative of Count Hugolino.

Taken from the end of Dante's 32d Canto of Inferno, and the greater Part of the 33d Canto, and here united so as to form one consistent *Ensemble*.

Two, in a Pit of Ice, we, now, behold,
Grappled so close, that, to the under Head,
One seem'd a Cov'ring, but, on nearer View,
Greedy Devourer prov'd, of th' others Flesh.
. . . . O, thou Brute,
I cried, who thus, thy still unsated Wrath
Beastily shew'st, explain, if Words can do't,
What Provocation adequate to this
Was giv'n; for, cou'd I think such Vengeance just,
On my return to Earth, thy Injuries,
To all, I'd manifest. His gorey Mouth,
From the raw Neck, he rais'd, and with the Hair
O'th mangl'd Head, wiping it, thus replied . . .
I' th' dismal Dungeon, which from my hard Doom,
Henceforth the Tow'r of Famine shall be nam'd,
Through a small Cleft, the morning Light appear'd,
When, from a Dream,[1] that my impending Woes,

[1] 'Besides uniting the End of one Canto with the beginning of another, so as to make one little *Ensemble*, I have taken the Liberty to omit the Dream alluded

Protentously, unveil'd, sudden I 'woke,
The Hour of hungry Expectation, now,
Approaching; my dear Boys, with me entrapt,
Their scanty Meal solicit, and announce,
Of sharpest Anguish, the first boding Pang,
By their own Dreams suggested; Bread, they cry,
But, in its Place, alas! horrible Sound,
The grating Locks I hear, barring Access
To th' outer, gloomy Entrance of the Tow'r.
Too plainly, in my alter'd Countenance,
My Body fix't and motionless, appear
The Agony of suff'ring Indignation,
With desperate Resignation mix't: they weep,
Poor Innocents! my Senses, petrified,
Knew no Relief, but in Despair . . .'

With 'Dog Jennings' and the close of the eighteenth century Dante translation in England reached perhaps its lowest ebb. Before the new century was six years old the appearance of the first instalment of Cary's classic version [1] revolutionized the method of English translators, and discredited once and for all the tradition of loose paraphrase which is the chief characteristic of most of the translations represented in the preceding pages. The eighteenth-century dilettante patronized and apologized for Dante as an outlandish writer who was tolerable only in his better moments. Cary recognized in Dante a great poet and a great classic, and by his treatment of him as such won for Dante, as well as for himself, a permanent place in English literature.

to, and of Course, the Persons mentioned in it: as the first did but anticipate the Catastrophe, and the last, as meer Assistants, are now totally uninteresting.'

[1] Cary had translated two passages from the *Purgatorio* (III 79–85; V 37–9; in prose) in a letter to Miss Seward from Oxford in 1792. From a passage in his diary it appears that his verse translation was begun in 1797.

THE EARLIEST EDITIONS OF THE *DIVINA COMMEDIA* PRINTED IN ENGLAND[1]

THE first instalment of Cary's Dante, the 'Hell', which was published in two volumes in 1805–6, was accompanied by the Italian text, this being the earliest edition of the *Inferno* in the original printed in England. Previous to this, the only considerable portion of the *Commedia* printed in this country had been the first three cantos of the *Inferno*, which were printed, with a translation in *terza rima*, by William Hayley in 1782, in the notes to the third Epistle, in his *Essay on Epic Poetry*. An edition of the *Divina Commedia* with the imprint 'Londra' had appeared in 1778, but this was actually printed not in London, but at Leghorn.

When Cary published his complete translation in 1814, he excused himself from reprinting the Italian text on the ground that since the publication of the first edition of his 'Hell', 'two impressions of the whole of the *Divina Commedia* in Italian had made their appearance in this country'. Both these editions were issued in 1808: the one, in three volumes, 16mo (dedicated to the Ladies Elizabeth and Emily Percy, daughters of the second Duke of Northumberland), which contains the text only, without notes, was printed by P. da Ponte, under the editorship of G. B. Boschini; the other, in three volumes, 12mo (dedicated respectively to the Countess of Lonsdale, the Countess of Dartmouth, and Mrs. Pilkington), was printed and edited, with Italian notes of various commentators, by Romualdo Zotti. In the following year a fourth volume was added to Zotti's edition, consisting of the *Canzoni e Sonetti di Dante Alighieri*. This was the first collection of Dante's

[1] Reprinted, with additions, from *Athenaeum*, Jan. 2, 1904.

lyrical poems printed and published in England. A few of the poems had been previously printed by T. J. Mathias (the editor of Gray) in his six volumes of *Componimenti Lirici*, published in London by T. Becket in 1802 and 1808. Zotti included ninety-one poems, many of which are certainly not by Dante, while several of Dante's genuine poems, on the other hand, were omitted from the collection.

In 1819 two more editions of the *Divina Commedia* were published in London: one, in three volumes, 16mo (unknown to Colomb de Batines), was printed by Schulze and Dean, under the editorship of S. E. Petronj, and published by James Bain; the other, in three volumes, 24mo (which is mentioned by De Batines, but of which, strangely enough, there is no copy either in the British Museum or in the Cornell University collection—its existence is undoubted, as the Bodleian possesses a copy, formerly in my own collection), is a second and cheaper issue, with the notes recast, of Zotti's edition of 1808.

In 1822–3 was published the diminutive edition of the *Divina Commedia*, in two volumes 32mo (dated respectively 1823 and 1822), which forms part of Pickering's well-known series of 'Diamond Classics'. This is the first complete edition of the *Commedia* issued in England in which no foreigner's name appears. The printing was executed by Corrall (not by Whittingham, as stated in the *Dictionary of National Biography*), but it is not improbable that Ugo Foscolo (the first volume of whose edition of the *Commedia* was published by Pickering in 1825) may have been concerned in the editing of the text.

In 1824 a French translation of the *Inferno* (dedicated to the Princess Augusta), by J. C. Tarver, accompanied by the Italian text, was printed at Windsor, of which a second impression, with a reconstructed title-page, was issued in 1826.

In 1826–7 Murray published the first two volumes, containing the *Inferno*, of Gabriele Rossetti's projected edition in six volumes of the *Commedia*, with his 'Comento analitico'.

In 1827 appeared the first English-printed edition of the *Divina Commedia* complete in one volume. The text, beauti-

fully printed by the Whittinghams at their Chiswick Press, was edited by Pietro Cicchetti. This edition (unknown to Colomb de Batines), which is in 12mo, and consists of 610 pages, claims to be the first single-volume edition of the *Commedia* in this small *format*—a claim which shows that the editor cannot have had a very extensive acquaintance with the bibliography of his subject.

The next English edition, which was printed at Edinburgh for A. & C. Black in 1839, in a single volume in 24mo, is not registered in the British Museum Catalogue, nor is it mentioned by Colomb de Batines. There is a copy of it in the Cornell University collection, in the Catalogue of which it is stated to be edited by G. Rampini. Batines records an edition (not in the British Museum nor in the Cornell collection), published at Edinburgh in 1840 by Andrew Moffart (*sic*), which is described as forming vol. iv of 'Rampini's Edition of Italian Classics, for the Use of Schools'. This is perhaps a reissue or new edition of the previous edition of 1839.

In 1842–3 was published in London by Pietro Rolandi, in four volumes, 8vo, Ugo Foscolo's edition of the *Commedia*, containing the Italian text and various illustrative matter, the first instalment of which had been published by Pickering during Foscolo's lifetime in 1825.

In 1844 another Edinburgh edition was published by Oliver and Boyd, in 24mo, as the first volume of a 'Biblioteca classica italiana, scelta e pubblicata da Giuseppe Rampini'. A copy of this edition, which is unknown to the bibliographers, was in the collection of the late Mr. Fairfax-Cholmeley at Florence.

In 1849 the well-known translation of the *Inferno* by John A. Carlyle, accompanied by the Italian text, was published by Chapman and Hall; and from this date onwards English editions of the *Commedia*, or of one or other of the cantiche, for the most part accompanied by translations, have followed each other fast, the total at present amounting to more than thirty, exclusive of reprints or reimpressions. A single-volume edition of the text alone, edited by A. J. Butler, was published by Rivington in 1890. Two more editions were published in 1900 (one in London, the other at Oxford, edited

respectively by the present writer and by Dr. Moore) in commemoration of the six-hundredth anniversary of the assumed date of Dante's vision. The latest of all are the beautiful editions of the *Inferno* (1902), *Purgatorio* (1904), *Paradiso* (1905), and *Tutte le Opere* (1909—a reprint of the last edition of the *Oxford Dante*, first issued in 1894), printed at the Ashendene Press by Mr. St. John Hornby.

ALCUNO IN THE SENSE OF *NESSUNO* IN DANTE AND OTHER MEDIAEVAL WRITERS[1]

THERE are two passages in the *Divina Commedia* where it has been claimed that *alcuno*, without a negative particle, is used in the sense of *nessuno*, in the same way as the French *aucun*, namely, *Inferno* iii. 42, and xii. 9.

In the former passage, Virgil tells Dante that the souls of those who lived on earth, 'senza infamia e senza lodo', are rejected from Hell proper,

Chè alcuna gloria i rei avrebber d'elli.

In the second passage, Dante compares the precipitous descent by which he and Virgil approach the seventh circle of Hell, to a rock so shattered from top to bottom,

Ch' alcuna via darebbe a chi su fosse.

I do not propose to recapitulate the arguments of the commentators for and against this interpretation of *alcuno* in the negative sense in these two passages, but merely to deal with one argument against it which was put forward by Blanc, and subsequently adopted by Scartazzini. Blanc says in his *Vocabolario Dantesco*: 'jusqu'ici on n'a trouvé aucun exemple sûr d'*alcuno* pris dans le sens français d'*aucun*, keiner'. Scartazzini goes further and with characteristic vehemence asserts in his note on *Inferno* xii. 9, in his *Commento Lipsiese* (Leipzig, 1874), '*alcuno* non si usa mai nè poi mai per *nessuno*',—an assertion which is repeated in his *Commento Milanese* (Milano, 1893), but is modified in the second edition of the former (Leipzig, 1900), as well as in his *Enciclopedia Dantesca* (Milano, 1896).

[1] Reprinted, with additions, from *Études Italiennes*, 2e Année. No. 3. Juillet, 1920.

But as long ago as 1644 the grammarian Marcantonio Mambelli, who wrote under the pseudonym of Cinonio, in his *Osservazioni della Lingua Italiana, Parte Seconda, in cui si tratta delle Particelle*, published at Ferrara in that year, drew attention to two passages in the *Convivio* of Dante, in which *alcuno* is used in this negative sense; namely: '*alcuno* sensibile in tutto il mondo è più degno di farci esempio di Dio, che il sole' ('no object of sense in the whole world is more worthy to be made a type of God than the Sun', *Conv.* iii. 12, ll. 52–4);[1] and 'il desiderio è difettiva cosa, che *alcuno* desidera quello che ha, ma quello che non ha' ('desire is something defective, for no one desires that which he has, but that which he has not', *Conv.* iii. 15, ll. 31–3). Not all the texts, it is true, read *alcuno* in these passages. The *editio princeps* for instance (Florence, 1490: 'Impresso in Firenze per ser Francesco bonaccorsi Nel anno mille quattrocento nouanta A di. xx. di septembre'), and the second edition (Venice, 1521: 'Stampata in venetia per Zuane Antonio: et Fradelli da Sabio: Ad instantia de Nicolo e Dominico dal Iesus fradelli. Nel Anno del Signore. M.D.XXI. Del Mese di Ottubrio'), and apparently all modern editions, read *nullo*. But the third (Venice, 1529: 'Impresso in Vinegia per Nicolo di Aristotele detto Zoppino nell' Anno di nostra salute Regnante l'Inclito Principe Andrea Gritti. MDXXIX') and fourth edition (Venice, 1531: 'Impresso in Vinegia per Marchio Sessa nell' Anno di nostra salute regnante l'inclito Principe Andrea Gritti. MDXXXI'), which presumably follow a manuscript tradition,[2] give the passages with *alcuno*, as quoted by Mambelli.

This circumstance led me to examine the text of the *Convivio* throughout in these two editions, which, it should be noted, though issued by different printers, are not independent, the text of Marchio Sessa being obviously based, with occasional divergences in the matter of orthography,

[1] The line references are to the text of the *Convivio* as printed in the *Oxford Dante*.

[2] Since this article was first printed I have had the opportunity of examining the two MSS. of the *Convivio* in the Bodleian, viz. *Canon. Ital.* 114, and *Bodl. Ital. d.* 5 (the MS. bequeathed by the late Dr. Edward Moore). In the above two passages both MSS. read *nullo*.

upon that of his immediate predecessor. The result of my examination was the discovery in this text of numerous other instances of the negative use of *alcuno* in passages where the other editions read *nullo* or *nessuno*. The following are some of the most striking of these passages:

Conv. i. 4, ll. 66–8: 'È da sapere che l'huomo è da più parti macolato, Et come dice Augustino, *alcuno* (edd. 1490, 1521: *nullo*)[1] è sanza macola' ('it must be recognized that man is in many respects blemished, and, as Augustine says, no one is without blemish').

Conv. i. 7, ll. 91–5: 'Sappia ciascuno che *alcuna* (edd. 1490, 1521: *nulla*)[2] cosa per legame musaico armonizzata si può dalla sua loquela in altra trammutare sanza rompere tutta sua dolcezza et armonia' ('nothing which is written in the harmony of metre can be translated from its own tongue into another without its charm and music being altogether destroyed').

Conv. i. 9, ll. 41–2: '*alcuna* (edd. 1490, 1521: *nulla*)[3] cosa è utile, se non in quanto è usata' ('nothing is useful except in so far as it is made use of').

Conv. i. 10, ll. 48–50: '*alcuna* (edd. 1490, 1521: *nulla*)[4] grandezza può lo huomo havere maggiore, che quella della vertuosa operatione' ('a man cannot have any greatness higher than that of virtuous action').

Conv. ii. 5, ll. 98–9: '*alcuno* (edd. 1490, 1521: *nullo*)[5] effetto è maggiore della cagione' ('no effect is greater than its cause').

Conv. ii. 9, ll. 75–7: 'Ciascuno è certo che la natura humana è perfettissima di tutte l'altre nature di qua giù, et questo *alcuno* (edd. 1490, 1521: *nullo*)[6] lo niega' ('every one is convinced that human nature is the most perfect of all natures here below; and this nobody denies').

Conv. iii. 6, l. 77: '*alcuna* altra delettatione (edd. 1490, 1521: *nulla* delettatione)[7] è sì grande' ('no other pleasure is so great').

Conv. iii. 11, ll. 126–7: '*alcuno* (edd. 1490, 1521: *nessuno*; Oxf.: *nullo*)[8] suo pensiero ad altre cose lascia distendere' ('she does not allow any of his thoughts to be diverted to other things').

Conv. iv. 3, ll. 16–17: '*alcuno* (edd. 1490, 1521: *nessuno*; Oxf.: *nullo*)[9] si meravigli se per molte divisioni si procede' ('let no one be surprised if many subdivisions are made as we proceed').

Conv. iv. 4, l. 5: '*alcuno* (edd. 1490, 1521: *nessuno*; Oxf.: *nullo*)[10] per sè è sufficiente' ('no one by himself is able').

[1] MS. *Canon. Ital.* 114: *nullo*; *Bodl. Ital. d.* 5: *nulla.*
[2] MS. *Canon. Ital.* 114: *nulla*; *Bodl. Ital. d.* 5: *nessuna.*
[3] Both MSS.: *nulla.*
[4] Both MSS.: *nulla.*
[5] Both MSS.: *nullo.*
[6] Both MSS.: *nullo.*
[7] MS. *Canon. Ital.* 114: *nulla*; *Bodl. Ital. d.* 5: *niuna.*
[8] Both MSS.: *nullo.*
[9] Both MSS.: *nullo.*
[10] Both MSS.: *nullo.*

Conv. iv. 6, ll. 89-90: 'di *alcuna* cosa mostrare (edd. 1490, 1521: di *nulla* mostrare) dolore, di *alcuna* altra mostrare (edd. 1490, 1521: di *nulla* mostrare)[1] allegrezza' ('not to show sorrow for any cause, not to show joy for any cause').

These numerous examples, whether they be due to Dante himself, or to the scribe of the manuscript from which the text of the editions of 1529 and 1531 was derived, at any rate prove that the negative use of *alcuno* was by no means non-existent, as was implied by Blanc and asserted by Scartazzini. Nor are these isolated instances, for I find the following from writers contemporary with Dante registered in the *Vocabolario* of Tramater (1826); namely, in the *Volgarizzamento de' Dialoghi di San Gregorio* by Domenico Cavalca (*c.* 1270–1342):

'In tutta la cittade nello studio delle lettere a persona *alcuna* fu secondo' ('He was second to none in the whole city in his zeal for letters').

And from the same:

'Non poteva ottenere di andarvi, perchè il popolo Romano per cosa *alcuna* voleva consentire' ('He was unable to go because the Roman people would on no account give their consent').

From the *Cento Novelle Antiche* (thirteenth century):

'Mentre che il medico diceva queste parole, cominciò il giovane sì dirottamente a piangere, che ritenere in *alcuno* modo si poteva' ('While the physician was thus speaking, the youth began to weep so violently, that in nowise could he be restrained').

Another instance is quoted by Torraca,[2] in his note on *Inferno* xii. 51, in the fourth edition of his commentary on the *Commedia*, from Cecco Angiolieri of Siena (*c.* 1250–1313):

E tanto piango che tutto m' immollo,
C' *alcuna* cosa m' aleggia dolore.

('I weep so sore that I am bathed in tears, for there is nought that can allay my grief.')

To these may be added two later instances given in the last

[1] Both MSS.: *nulla*.

[2] Torraca, I may observe, is one of the few, if not the only one, of the more recent commentators who adopts the negative interpretation of 'alcuna via' in *Inf.* xii. 9.

edition (Firenze, 1863) of the *Vocabolario della Crusca*. The first is from the *Rime* of Boccaccio (*Son.* I):

> *Alcun* legno con vela, o con vogare,
> Scampati ci ha da perigli imminenti
> Fra duri scogli e le secche latenti,
> Ma sol Colui che ciò che vuol può fare.

('No bark with sail or oar has saved us from the perils threatening from rocky coast and hidden shoals, but He alone who has the power to do that which He wills.')

The other is from the *Cronica* (1412–30) of Buonaccorso Pitti:

'Ch' io gli promettessi che *alcuna* offesa si farebbe al detto, se in prima egli non ne fosse avvisato' ('That I would promise him that no harm should be done to the said individual without his first being apprised of it').

I have noted another instance in Boccaccio, in *Novello* v of *Giornata* iv of the *Decameron*, the story upon which Keats founded his poem of *Isabella, or the Pot of Basil*:

'Diliberò di questa cosa . . . di passarsene tacitamente, e infignersi del tutto d' averne *alcuna* cosa veduta o saputa' ('On thinking the matter over, he decided to keep silence about it, and to pretend not to have seen or known anything of it whatever').

AN ALLEGED NOTE BY BOCCACCIO ON *INFERNO* XIX. 13–21[1]

In all the printed editions Boccaccio's commentary on the *Divina Commedia* breaks off abruptly at the seventeenth verse of the seventeenth canto of the *Inferno*; and we know that the manuscript was left incomplete from the statement of claim made after Boccaccio's death by his brother Jacopo, who was one of the beneficiaries under his will.[2]

It was with no small surprise, therefore, that while reading lately the account of the Baptistery of San Giovanni at Florence in Richa's *Notizie Istoriche delle Chiese Fiorentine*[3] (vol. v, pp. iv ff.), in which reference is made to Dante's mention of the font in the Baptistery in the nineteenth canto of the *Inferno* (vv. 13–21), I came across a note on this passage attributed to Boccaccio. In his section on the font in San Giovanni (Art. iii, § 3), speaking of the great crowds at the annual baptisms, which, save in exceptional circumstances, took place only on Easter eve and the eve of Pentecost, Richa says that on these occasions, owing to the numbers, dangerous accidents sometimes occurred, and he gives two instances, one related in the Life of Pope Damasus, the other recorded by Dante:

'Per la folla addivenivano casi pericolosi, come leggesi nella Vita di S. Damaso Papa, che appunto per la moltiplicità dei bambini, ne cadde uno nel Fonte, cavato fuori dal Diacono; ed altro simile avvenimento accenna Dante nel Cap. XIX dell' Inferno, dicendo che egli stesso vi ripescò un fanciullo, che vi affogava, cavatolo per i capelli.'

Richa, whose recollection of Dante's account is somewhat hazy, for Dante says nothing about 'fishing the child out by the hair', then proceeds to give the comments on the passage

[1] Reprinted, with omissions, from *Modern Language Review* (July 1920), xv. 309–12.

[2] See above, p. 62.

[3] Published at Florence in ten volumes, 1754–62.

of the *Inferno* of several of the early commentators, beginning with Boccaccio, whose note, he says, is transcribed from a manuscript:

'Poichè parecchi Comentatori del Divino Poeta discorrendo su questo caso, ischiariscono non poco la Storia di questo nostro Battisterio: io quì riporterò quello, che mi sono avvenuto a trovare in varj Comenti. E primieramente si legga un' annotazione di Giovanni Boccaccio nelle sue Note manoscritte sopra Dante, che è come appresso: "S. Giovanni è il Tempio antico di Fiorenza, nel quale è una Pila grande di marmo, nella quale stanno più che 12. Persone, et anticamente ivi si baptezavano molti insieme, perchè si bapteza una volta, o due l'anno, e in tutta la Città non è altro Baptistero: Et intorno a questa grande Pila sono quattro fori di marmo larghi quanto vi cape un uomo diritto, ne' quali stavano i Sacerdoti a baptizare per la moltitudine della gente. Advenne al tempo di Dante v'era entrato col capo di sotto un fanciullo, per tal modo stava, che non si poteva estrarre fuori, e Dante vi s'abbattè, et con una scura la ruppe, e campollo che annegava."'

There are two points worthy of note in this account. In the first place, no other account of the ancient font of San Giovanni that I am aware of, at any rate by an early commentator of Dante, gives the information as to the capacity of the central basin, namely, that it would hold more than twelve persons. The second point is the mention of the axe with which, the writer says, Dante broke the font in order to rescue the drowning child. Now the only other of the early commentators to record the detail of the axe is Benvenuto da Imola,[1] whose note on the passage is as follows:

'Debes scire quod Florentiae in ecclesia patronali Johannis Baptistae circa fontem baptismalem sunt aliqui puteoli marmorei rotundi in circuitu capaces unius hominis tantum, in quibus solent stare sacerdotes cum cruribus ad baptizandum pueros, ut possint liberius et habilius exercere officium suum tempore pressurae, quando oportet simul et semel plures baptizari, quoniam tota Florentia tam populosa non habet nisi unum Baptisterium tantum, sicut Bononia.... Et autor incidenter commemorat unum casum satis peregrinum, qui emerserat pauco tempore ante in dicto

[1] The axe is also mentioned, it is true, by Stefano Talice da Ricaldone, who says: 'Dantes ingressus est ecclesiam, et ipsemet cum securi ipsum [puteolum] fregit'; but his commentary has practically no independent value, for, as Prof. Barbi has shown, it is little more than a transcript of Benvenuto da Imola's lectures at Bologna (see *Bullettino della Società Dantesca Italiana*, N.S., xv, pp. 213–36).

loco. Qui casus fuit talis: cum in ecclesia praedicta circa Baptismum colluderent quidam pueri, ut est de more, unus eorum furiosior aliis intravit unum istorum foraminum, et ita et taliter implicavit et involvit membra sua, quod nulla arte, nullo ingenio poterat inde retrahi. Clamantibus ergo pueris, qui illum juvare non poterant, factus est in parva hora magnus concursus populi; et breviter nullo sciente aut potente succurrere puero periclitanti, supervenit Dantes, qui tunc erat de Prioribus regentibus. Qui subito viso puero, clamare coepit: Ah quid facitis, gens ignara! portetur una securis; et continuo portata securi, Dantes manibus propriis percussit lapidem, qui de marmore erat, et faciliter fregit: ex quo puer quasi reviviscens a mortuis liber evasit.'

Whence did Benvenuto derive the detail of the axe? We know from himself not only that he attended Boccaccio's lectures on the *Divina Commedia*,[1] but that he also received information from Boccaccio personally on various points connected with the poem.[2] It is by no means improbable, therefore, that Boccaccio was the source of his information in this instance also; and that the note quoted by Richa either represents a passage from one of the lectures actually delivered of which no other record exists, or formed part of a collection of notes for future lectures which by some freak of fortune was preserved independently of the completed fragment of the *Comento* as it has come down to us. It is quite possible that such a collection existed, for there is evidence in the *Comento* itself that Boccaccio had prepared notes far in advance of the particular canto he was dealing with at the time; for instance, he five times refers forward to his commentary on the *Purgatorio*, and thrice to that on the *Paradiso*, both of which we may gather were already to some extent sketched out.[3]

It is unfortunate that Richa gives no clue to the whereabouts of the manuscript containing these notes of Boccaccio, the existence of which seems to have been unknown both to modern Dante commentators, and to Boccaccio specialists such as Henri Hauvette, the chief authority on Boccaccio's handwriting, and Oskar Hecker.

[1] See above, pp. 57–8.

[2] For instance, the meaning of the word *lonza* (*Com.* i. 34); and the story of the boys who threw mud at the statue of Mars on the Ponte Vecchio (*Com.* i. 461).

[3] See above, pp. 71–2.

It may be stated, in conclusion, that the other commentators besides Boccaccio cited by Richa are an anonymous commentator, quoted from a manuscript text, whom I have identified as Jacopo della Lana, whose commentary was first printed (with the erroneous attribution to Benvenuto da Imola) in the 1477 Venice edition of the *Divina Commedia*; Francesco da Buti, also quoted from manuscript, his commentary not having been printed until 1858–62; and Cristoforo Landino, whose commentary was first printed in the famous Florentine edition of 1481, and had been reprinted at least fifteen times before Richa's day.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Canz.	*Canzone, Canzoniere.*
Conv.	*Convivio.*
D.	Dante, works of Dante.
D. C.	*Divina Commedia.*
Ecl.	*Ecloga, Eclogae.*
ed.	edition, editor.
ed. prin.	*editio princeps.*
Epist.	*Epistola, Epistolae.*
Inf.	*Inferno.*
Mon.	*De Monarchia.*
Par.	*Paradiso.*
pub.	published.
Purg.	*Purgatorio.*
spec.	specimen.
trans.	translation, translator.
V. E.	*De Vulgari Eloquentia.*
V. N.	*Vita Nuova.*

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